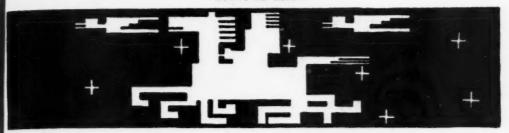
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# THE AMERICAN. SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW.

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### HANNA ASTRUP LARSEN, Editor

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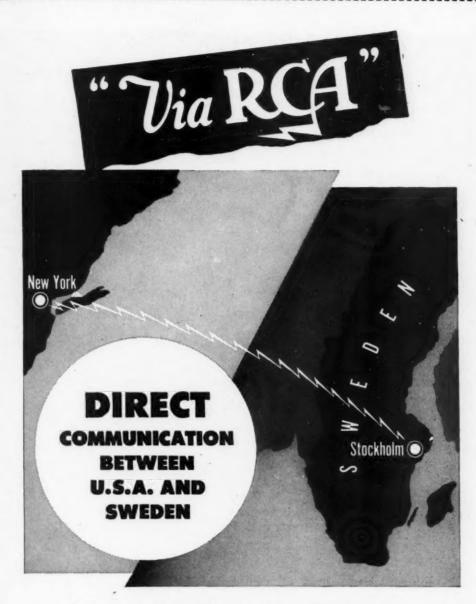
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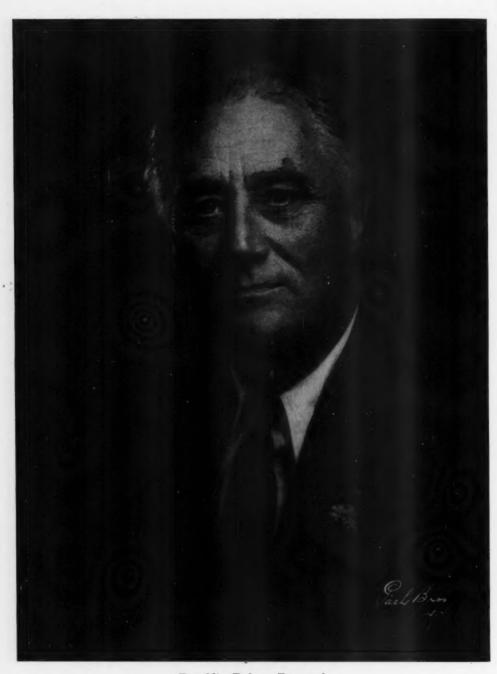
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Franklin Delano Roosevelt

# AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW

VOLUME XXXIII

JUNE, 1945

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# Franklin Delano Roosevelt

BY HENRY GODDARD LEACH

"HAT DID ODIN say to Baldr before he was placed on the pyre?" That was the one question remaining unanswered in The Poetic Edda. Today, humanity asks the question, "How different will the new world be when the President is not permitted to lead us into the promised land?" This we do know, that the Scandinavian nations will forever be grateful for his understanding of their importance to the society of free peoples and for his leadership that has enabled them to regain their place in the sun.

In Roosevelt religion and statesmanship were one. He was a warrior who obeyed the precept of the Golden Rule. His loyalty to the teaching of Endicott Peabody that sons of wealth owed their lives to the state and his love of his own village church were prophetic of his four terms as President. For he believed that "Love thy neighbor as thyself" solves all social as well as personal problems and is a complete and joyful way of life.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt has gone to the immortals. We no longer hear his patient laughter. It is now for us, the living, to make good his vision and the prophecy of The Poetic Edda:

"There in the grass again the golden
Fabled tablets will be found
With which they played in years of eld.
On unsown acres ears will grow,
Ills will better, and Baldr come."

# Vibrations from a Danish Bell

The John C. Campbell Folk School

By RUTH DAME COOLIDGE

ILLE DANMARK'S VOICE has been hushed these last years. Only echoes of her stubborn intransigence have reached beyond Nazi control. Still the vibrations of Danish culture are ringing across the southern mountains from a Danish bell given to the John C. Campbell Folk School by Jacob Lange of Odense and a group of Danish Folk School leaders. This was a tribute to Olive Dame Campbell and her staunch helpers in planting a school, inspired by Denmark, in the mountains of North Carolina.

Beyond the voice of the bell lies a saga of study and devotion. John C. Campbell, an experienced educator, had given a lifetime of service to the southern mountains. He had seen how the best of the students with whom he had worked had not remained to strengthen mountain life. Nor indeed was there much to hold them in the eroded fields and wasted forests. Pondering over the problem of a new life for the mountains, Mr. Campbell looked to Denmark, a country once poor in resources yet rich today in her contented farmers, in her far-flung co-operatives.

Would what was possible on the sandy soil of Denmark be possible in the steep clay uplands of another continent, of a different people? With Mr. Campbell to think was to act, and in 1914 he and his wife had their passage engaged for a study in Denmark. The First World War cancelled their trip, and the death of Mr. Campbell in 1919 might well have been the end of the project. Fortunately for the mountains, he left behind him his wife, the earnest companion of all his mountain explorations. The mantle of her husband fell upon Olive Dame Campbell, and in 1922, after completing her husband's great classic, The Southern Highlander and his Homeland, she went for a year's study in Scandinavia with a Fellowship from the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Marguerite Butler, a teacher and extension worker at the Pine Mountain Settlement School, Kentucky, joined her in Copenhagen, and together, for over a year, they visited and studied the Folk Schools of Denmark, continuing on into Norway, Sweden, and even distant Finland, to see how all these countries had adapted the same theory to their own peculiar character and needs.

The experiences of the year were stimulating. Mrs. Campbell and Miss Butler came back convinced that the Folk School was the great inspiration behind the fertile fields, the thoroughbred cows, the tall



Olive Dame Campbell, Head of the School, in Her Office

stacks of the co-operative creameries rising as universally on the wide Danish horizon as the towers of the white-washed churches. Certainly a kind of education which could bring about such miracles in a poor country like Denmark was worth trying in the southern mountains of the United States.

The establishing of an American folk school was not so easy as it might seem. Educational authorities to whom the idea was explained were skeptical. "A school without requirements, examinations, or credits! In a little homogeneous country like Denmark it might work, but in America it would be utterly impracticable! Besides, who would go to such a school?" For a while it seemed as if there was to be no folk school in the Southern Highlands, but Mrs. Campbell and Miss Butler were determined. They had seen what had been done and had confidence in what might be. They resolved to start a school themselves and prove how the Danish theory might be adapted to that part of the United States in which they were most interested. Friends and educators were found to help, and what was more, the people of the little rural community of Brasstown, North Carolina, were willing to try a system of

education that would raise "not just teachers and preachers" but men and women who would build up the countryside. They signed eager pledges that they would help with land and labor, if they could secure a school which would teach their boys and girls to stay and make good on the farm. Day labor with and without mules, logs, lumber, stone for building—these were contributions in return for new hope—barely glimpsed in their discouragement—which might affect the whole future of the country.

So into an old farmhouse on Little Brasstown Creek in Cherokee County, North Carolina, moved Mrs. Campbell and Marguerite Butler in a December 1925 so cold that water spilled within a foot of the fire-place froze, as the wind swept under the foundations of the poorly-constructed building. But the people came in to help, as they had promised, and it was not long before floors and chimneys were repaired and

the roof made tight.

Neighbors could gather at night before the open fire for a week of school. It might be a talk by a county agent on soil and fertilizers, or by a health expert on the care of the springs from which they drew their water, or slides showing the development of a grain of corn—a miracle under their very eyes. And how they all sang in good old Danish Folk School fashion, "When You and I Were Young, Maggie," "The Little Brown Church in the Vale," and "Reuben and Rachel"—men and

women vying to see which could outsing the other!

There were folk songs too of their own Appalachians, and, in time, folk songs of other countries. Once they even learned the Danish words of a country-life song, "Jeg er en simpel Bondemand," as a special tribute to Georg Bidstrup, a young Dane of Folk School experience who had come to take charge of the farm. Perhaps Georg had difficulty in understanding his own language on mountain tongues, but the people had made their first effort toward international understanding. Out of one verse Mrs. Campbell adopted the motto of the School, "I sing behind the plough."

p

Slowly, old and new neighbors became acquainted with each other. The suggestion of one mother led to the formation of a woman's community club, which has sponsored activities for community enrichment over the years. No single development has meant more than the organization of the Brasstown Credit Union, which sprang out of discussions over the lunch boxes of men giving labor to the new venture, that first

spring of 1926.

Later, when the Tennessee Valley Authority started its great work, Brasstown in the valley of the Hiawassee River, was quick to understand and respond. The school farm became one of the demonstration



Keith House, the Center of Activities, Containing the Community Room, Office, Class Rooms, and Living Quarters for the Girls

farms, and Arthur Morgan, the first head of the Authority, had one of his first meetings at Brasstown—a meeting which brought the first airplane to the little community.

It had been decided that the four winter months, November first to March first, after the harvests of the fall and before the early spring planting, would be the freest for the farmer to go to school. At this time students could gather from the mountain hollows and become members of the school household, working on the farm and in the kitchen and earning while they learned. The living together was recognized from the beginning as of fundamental importance. Young people in a region of isolated farms must learn to live together—and they must earn too, for even without paying tuition they would find it hard to pay their board. Necessary work was to be made as educational as possible—and, throughout the course, attention given equally to hand and to head.

The first course was held in the winter of 1927-28. Only a handful of young people attended, of whom only two could live at the school. The next year, however, Keith House, partly finished as it was, could take in a group of girls, and Mill House soon provided dormitory space for the boys.

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A Group of Wood Carvers Outside of Keith House

Today, loosely clustered along a country road, are a number of buildings which make up the school, deeply influenced by the architecture of Denmark and Belgium, for Leon Deschamps, the school engineer, is a Belgian, while Georg Bidstrup is a Dane. Simplicity is the keynote: it has been the idea to place before the students examples and standards which they might adapt to their own use in the mountains, rather than unattainable ideals which might tend to make them discouraged with their own environment. Keith House, the main building and heart of school life, stands like a landmark for the countryside, a generous rural center, housing dormitory for the girls, offices, weaving room, dining-room, and kitchen. Class rooms are few; the chief one is the living room, pressed into service by seasonal addition of a roll of maps and a blackboard. Handmade mountain chairs may be brought in at will and shifted about for group discussion, singing around the piano, or arithmetic at the several tables. The walls are lined with books. In the adjacent entrance hall hang pictures of Grundtvig, the father of the Danish Folk School, and Kristen Kold, the first great Folk School teacher, beside that of John C. Campbell, the inspiration of the Room borth

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of the whole venture which is named for him. The great Community Room, in a separate wing, is the gathering place for the whole neighborhood.

It soon became evident to the community that something was happening to the boys and girls who went to the Folk School. A lightness had come into their steps, and light into their eyes. They clearly were having a very good time and were so wrapped up in what they were experiencing that they had neither time nor interest for some of the less desirable community doings. As these developments were noised abroad, students came in, not alone from the surrounding counties, but

gradually from rural areas of other mountain States-Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, Some were graduates of local high schools; others had been at work since they were fourteen or fifteen. Still others, in independent mountain fashion, had refused to attend school after the first few grades and were badly limited in elementary knowledge. No distinctions were made, All lived together as a family and contributed to and learned from the experience as they were able. The enrollment was al-



The Great Water Wheel at Picturesque Mill House

ways small, for the school could accommodate only thirty at most, and farm, house, and later shop, could furnish labor for only about the same number.

Observers, anxious to bring some of this new inspiration into their own neighborhoods, begged that young people from other rural areas might attend, some from Farm Security Projects in Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, and two, as an experiment, from Indian reservations in Oklahoma. The experiment was tried successfully on a limited scale. School families, whatever the differences,

proved congenial and happy.

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On the whole, however, the bulk of the student body continued to come from the general vicinity of the School. After all, this educational venture was for the mountains, and it was carefully planned for the understanding and enrichment of country life in that area. Courses centering in local conditions worked out from there to the great world beyond the oceans. The geography of the mountains figured always, its effect on land and people, its influence on history. Studying the rivers and their eroding courses, students noted the washing of the soil, the result of reckless forest denudation and methods of culture—above all, the need of co-operation. They could see for themselves how when one man cuts off his hillside forest and ploughs up the land, the soil eventually washes away to lay a destroying layer of sand on some other man's bottom land. When the Tennessee Valley Authority began its momentous work along the whole great valley to which Brasstown creeks are tributaries, Mrs. Campbell devoted several winters to a study of its plan and proceedings.

History was too close to geography to be separated from it. The routes by which the early settlers came into the mountain country were traced, the names of the students today compared with those in the first census of 1790, and racial strains observed, including a study of local Cherokee Indian culture and relics. Pioneer accomplishments and sins—especially those against natural resources—led naturally to present economic and social problems. These could be approached in different years from different angles. One year, for example, Mrs. Campbell's group of young men out of their own experience constructed a county government and analyzed the strong and weak points of decentralized and democratic organization, lingering to argue, with considerable heat, whether a man with constructive ideas was not justified in buying the votes of those who had no interests and would probably not vote at all otherwise. How can such differences exist in a democratic country?

With these mature young men there was plenty of discussion.

Plenty of discussion, too, among the girls in Miss Butler's (now Mrs.

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The Art of Weaving Has Old Traditions in the Mountains

Bidstrup's) Home Class, where new ways were evolved from old by seeing and doing. In America, as in Denmark, the kitchen is the basis of a happy folk school family. "As is the kitchen, so goes the farm," said one county agent. "Men farm well when their wives are good housekeepers." So farm and kitchen go along together. As the girls learn details of home-making, men learn in class and in practical work to be better farmers. They gain an understanding, too, of erosion control, forestry, simple field surveying, drafting, and blueprint reading. They learn in the forge not only to make singletrees but polers, fireplace implements, and candlesticks. Articles made by students are never sold, but treasured in their own homes, where you will see them today: stools, tables, and even corner cupboards, fashioned in the wood shop, in and out of school hours; carvings done in class or in many an odd moment by the hearth, or out on the sunny terrace; weavings in vegetable-dyed colors done at the hand looms. Some of the happiest hours are spent in the big community room, where, the initial difficulties of steps and figures overcome, the young people join in joyful folk dancing.

Each building of the school is already ringed about with an aura of association as charming as the native shrubs with which each is planted. The very laundry near Keith House hears song rising as the girls wash and hang out their clothes in patterns of color. And not far from Keith



A Group of Girls in the Weaving Room

House is the pioneer museum, twin log cabins connected by an open runway, raised to give the descendants of pioneers respect for and appreciation of the life of their ancestors. No Dane who has visited the museum at Lyngby and seen the actual homes of fishermen or farmers of old, with their baths and recessed beds, can fail to understand the importance of a building like this. On every Fourth of July the older people gather here and eat their meals beside its fireplace or under the trees outside. As the smoke rises from the stick-and-clay chimney, the men and women reminisce on how they used to split shingles, or bake their dinners on the hearth.

Undoubtedly the most picturesque of the buildings is the Wetmore Memorial, or Mill House, as it is familiarly known, on the edge of the branch or brook which flows through the farm. Here is one of the great waterwheels such as still grind corn throughout the mountains, only this one is of efficient steel, not wood. The wheel pumps water from many springs to a reservoir on the hill above. When it was first installed, the older people, who had seen the women of the mountains daily tugging pails of water from the spring, demurred that it was contrary to nature that water should run uphill. Today the boys, from their dormi-

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A Class of Boys in the Forge

tory in Mill House, can hear all night the slow pulsing of the great wheel as it impounds the water for school use and for fire protection, and can see by day the water dripping into a bed of azalea and fern beside a building as charming as if it had been transplanted from Normandy. In the cold spells of winter the slow revolving steel clanks through a coating of ice, but it is seldom frozen fast.

From Mill House the boys pass at dawn over the creek on a footbridge through a thicket of azalea to the great barns where the sleek Jerseys are already mooing to be milked. Individual is the lounging barn, the cement between its row of windows set with bas-reliefs of cow profiles and farm tools. When the milk is weighed and recorded and taken to the springhouse by the branch, the cows wend their leisurely way to the pastures across the road. Good feed they have, too, in the lush grass now growing on slopes once eroded and sparse with sedge and briars.

Now the boys are scattered and a skeleton force is in charge of barn and dairy. But from across both oceans appreciative letters stream back and excerpts appear in the *Brasstown Blotter*, the little mimeographed publication of the school. War has no time for the adult education of peace. Temporarily the winter session has ceased, and the Danish bell

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Figures Carved in the Woodworking Shop

is almost silent. Fortunately, however, the school was rooted deep in the needs of the whole community, and as a community rural center it continues more active than ever, as the war necessities of rural life press more heavily. While the strong young men are shouldering a gun instead of a hoe, and running a tank instead of boring

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ploughing a field or driving a tractor, the task of farm production, the demand for food, for dairy products, for eggs and poultry increases.

The district, which belongs to the area reckoned as our greatest economic problem, must do its part. It can do it, too. The average production of the time the school started has been tripled and quadrupled under the stimulus of the school, TVA, and State forces. Enough cannot be said for the Mountain Valley Co-operative, which trucks out feeds and fertilizers to the farmers, and brings in their butterfat, Grade A milk, and eggs. In 1944 it paid out \$175,000 to the farmers for their produce, and its aim is to increase its services constantly: when the soldiers come home they will find something with which to work. The mountain country is naturally suitable for small farms, which may be made to yield more proportionately than the large farm. Slowly the people are beginning to realize that the strength of a co-operative lies in the support given by the individual farmer—by the union of such support.

Of greatest significance in such a movement is the Folk School with its emphasis on mutual faith, new interests, and new ways. Where Folk School young people work shoulder to shoulder, changes for good will follow.

One might add that where they play together, they will be more likely to work together. That the Community Room continues, in these hard times, to be the center of life for the local young people and for neighent.

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boring communities is a significant indication. Of great help are the two ten-day courses offered by the Folk School in May and June, in folk games, songs, puppet making, recorder playing, and discussion of rural problems. These are especially attended by teachers from public and private schools, and by leaders in county work and recreation. The movement is spreading far, and as a result the children of many a school throughout the Southern Mountain area are learning to take pride and joy in the ballad of Barbry Allen, the dance of Rufty Tufty, or the singing game of Napoleon. Life in the mountains has become richer. In the winter Georg and Marguerite Bidstrup go as they are able into the adjacent centers to give instruction. Twice a month outside leaders bring in large groups of public school young people, to enjoy and learn and pass on what they learn to others. A folk version of the President's Ball in February brought groups from four centers in North Carolina and Georgia. A regional folk festival each fall gathers together many schools, public and private, for a day of folk games, songs, and recorder playing, at one of the co-operating centers.

Important, too, is the Student Farm Project, which is assisting young men to buy land near Brasstown and farm with the school and co-operative as sympathetic partners. Through a small fund given to the School for this purpose, students are able to borrow money necessary to buy farms. Already five couples of Folk School boys and girls have



Carved Figures Ready for the Christmas Trade

started their own farms, with little capital, but with the will to sacrifice and work hard if they may have a chance to develop the land. It is a

long road, but one in which they have faith and satisfaction.

One would fail to interpret the Folk School emphasis on beauty and expression for the individual, if one said nothing of the handicrafts stimulated by the school in the surrounding country. The old mountain craft of weaving has come to life again in the clatter of looms in the weaving room at Keith House. The weaving, too, has a suggestion of Scandinavia, in the colorful runners, while original designs of mountains and fields appear in tapestries. The wool that hangs in skeins over the ends of the looms is hand-dyed. One of the sights of the spring is to see Louise Pitman, head of the craft department, stirring her dye in a great iron kettle over an outdoor fire—brown from walnut bark, yellow from the dye-flower, or gray from sumach.

Most of all has the carving of Brasstown handicrafts made for itself a distinctive reputation. Mrs. Campbell had noted the men whittling before the country store and gouging deep in the loungers' bench. Tentatively she began to divert this activity into simple carving, tiny geese, little stiff sheep. Today the countryside is carving. Once a week the carvers, men and women from five to ten miles around, come to the school bringing their finished work. Murrial Martin, the craft teacher, looks over the mules, the geese, the horses, dogs, and squirrels, criticizes, encourages, and accepts all that is good. Each carver is paid in cash while the school polishes and markets the finished products. Often three generations of a family carve, though the younger ones are gone now. The women, who used to do the sanding, are now becoming carvers on their own account. At least one of the old carvers is teaching the soldiers in his hospital to carve, too, while another on the Western Front in Germany recently sent home some Scotties, carved when he was "not in combat." Others in war industry carve to break the monotony of machine production.

The school center of carving was the shop, a sturdy wooden building, equipped with excellent woodworking machinery. Just before Christmas last year the shop caught fire and burned to the ground, destroying all the machinery and tools, work benches and lumber, the entire supply of seasoned wood and shelves of carved animals ready for the market. Fortunately no lives were lost, and snow on the ground prevented a spread of the flames, but the blow to the community made it appallingly evident how close to the heart of the community was the school and its work, for the shop made possible not only the carving of beautiful trays and other handicrafts; it served the entire neighborhood. Wagon hubs, plough beams, church pews, spokes, chicken feeders, all were made in

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gly lits ays abs, e in the shop. Saddest were the children whose fathers had been working at night to make them wheelbarrows and hobbyhorses for Christmas. "There wasn't another thing in the community that could have gone that would have interfered with everybody as much as that shop," said one of the farmers. It will rise again, but the period of adjustment is hard.

In many a "morning song" talk Mrs. Campbell has brought to her student group what the Danes call "the living word." "The glamour of city life," she says, "often blinds us to the real values that lie in country living. We try to escape the marks of the country upon us, and feel we are making progress because we have city clothes and conveniences. But real progress is from within, and it is at home that we must build the new world. If we can only see the real values of country life and cultivate them with patient understanding we will have success beyond our hopes and expectations."

It is said that the name Brasstown arose from a confusion in the translation of two Indian words, untsaiyi, brass, and itseyi, a place of green living growth. Brass it has not; town it is not. Its visible semblance consists of a country store, garage, and a tiny post office. But it is today a place of living green, not only in its fine winter cover crops of brilliant small grain, or summer depth of tall corn. It is the green of new life, sown from Danish seed and giving new hope to the mountains. Here in Brasstown the farmers are singing behind the plough.



"I Sing Behind the Plough"

Ruth Dame Coolidge has been closely associated with the school conducted by her sister. Her husband is one of the directors

# Adult Education

A Force in Swedish Democracy

BY PER G. STENSLAND

# Adult Education and Social Change

DULT EDUCATION has been an intrinsic part of social change in Scandinavia. The period of deep unsettlement and transformation of social institutions that began just about a century ago brought with it the need of new educational opportunities for the adult citizen. The organizations that became important instigators of social change widened their front to include education for adults.

Let us look back for a moment. The scene is a Scandinavia where the last ramparts of medieval institutions are just about to be stormed. In Denmark the absolute monarchy has been brushed aside with the reforms in the 1830s, but the country is in grave danger as an independent nation, and the people are threatened with economic disaster. In Norway the small farmers fight off hunger as best they can, and national feelings are periodically aroused against the Union dominated by Sweden. In Sweden "the country is being filled with cottages, inhabited by people that have no other wealth than their labor . . . the population has increased, and the population statistics become charity rolls ..." as Bishop Esaias Tegnér wrote in 1833. There is still in force a law against free religious congregations. The four-estate Riksdag and the political structure as a whole prevent the little man from making his voice heard in national affairs. True, the old system of trade guilds and merchant associations is just about to be broken down, restrictions on imports and exports are about to be lightened, and liberal voices are heard in national politics. But by and large the old Sweden is still powerfully entrenched.

There was no place for theorizing here about "the need of adult education." The question was how it would start, who would be the initiator. It was one of the religious and philosophic leaders of Denmark, Bishop Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, who grasped the idea that was in the air. Grundtvig's idea, which was brought down to earth and made a reality by Kristen Kold, was "to arouse, strengthen and develop the spiritual life we can and must presuppose in Danish youth," and to do so with the help of a "school for life." There would be no examinations, no formal essay writing, no grammar toil, no regimentation. This Folk

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Rickard Sandler, Folk School Leader, Later Foreign Minister

School was to "build from below," to use Kold's words, it was to be a school of the people, responding to their needs. The first school, founded at Rödding in 1844, was followed by numerous others. Denmark was reborn.

The plight of Sweden in those years was not so bad as that of Denmark. Nor was the response from the people and from liberal intellectual leaders so eloquent. Probably Swedes had not even heard of the Danish experiment. In 1842 Sweden had instituted a new compulsory school system, but the public schools were still to be dominated by a reactionary State Church for another twenty years, until through laws of 1862 the schools were secularized. Since 1833 a Swedish equivalent to the British Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had been in existence. Lord Henry Peter Brougham's book on adult education (in a Swedish translation) was having its effect; parish libraries were appearing, and books were just beginning to go out to the people through revivalist preachers and temperance reformers. In the "big" towns (Sweden at that time had only one town with more than 50,000 inhabitants) liberals had formed "education circles" and "labor associations," but in the rural areas there was no place for free civic discussion.

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More obvious changes were to bring out the need of the people for new instruments with which to master their destiny. The agricultural crisis and the political reforms of the 1860s furnished such changes, and the growing industrialism intensified them. There was the specific demand from the farmers for means to educate themselves for their new political and economic responsibilities. There was the call from the new classes of workingmen for weapons to shape a new society. Those demands were by no means articulate, but they were answered by ideas from abroad and from intellectual leaders outside the farmers' and workingmen's groups. The result was that two unique types of adult education grew up: the first working, unconsciously or unwittingly, for social change, the second rising inside the popular movements that were themselves part of this social change. We shall here consider those two types as represented on the one hand by the Swedish Folk School and on the other by the so-called study circle organizations.

### A Swedish Variation on a Danish Theme

Ideas from Denmark and the general climate of liberalism gave birth to the Folk Schools of Sweden. The initiative came both from the farmers themselves and from liberal leaders in the intellectual middle class. In 1867 the editor of Aftonbladet, August Sohlman, held a lecture followed by discussion in Stockholm on the problem of finding suitable forms for democratic rural adult education, and he advocated the Danish pattern. At the same time some forward-looking farmers in Skåne decided to found schools which they themselves could control, to secure a new kind of civic education. Bills were introduced in county councils for support of such schools, and mass meetings were held to awaken the farmers to a sense of their new responsibilities.

In 1868 the stage was set for the first three schools, two in Skåne, Hvilan and Önnestad; one in Östergötland, Lunnevad—all run by associations which the people had formed. The aim was to give "education for the soul and useful schooling for life." These schools gave rise to mass meetings, private discussions, bills, and organization of committees all over the country. The following decade gave Sweden twenty-three new schools, and at the beginning of the present century there were twenty-nine schools in operation. The rapid development may seem to indicate that obstacles were few, but this was not the case. Farmers were conservative, and the spiritual and material forces in the communities looked upon the schools as radical or irreligious. "I have asked God to spare my parish from a Folk School," said one clergyman. "Now I take it as a visitation upon me from the Lord that I have got one, an evidence of my failure to be a good keeper of souls." In

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some quarters among farmers the term "Folk High School" was turned into "Folk High-and-Mighty-School" (folkhögfärdsskola for folkhögskola). Farmers did not need book-learning and theory, they needed work and practice, it was murmured. Such have always been the arguments against democratic adult education!

Two forces came to play a big rôle in the growth of Folk Schools in Sweden. The first was a reaction against a period of rural inertia and pessimism in the eighties and nineties of the last century (the "lean years" in the history of the schools) a period marked by staggering emigration figures and increasing flight from the farms to the factories. The reaction took the form of a romantic back-to-the-soil movement. Several of the present rectors at the Folk Schools were youngsters in those revivalist days and still have some of the "inner glow" from the youth mass meetings.

The second force, gaining strength in the years of the First World War, came from the popular action movements: labor, temperance, cooperatives, Free Church, and Lutheran Youth. The result was that the Swedish Folk School, to a higher degree than any other schools in Scandinavia, opened its doors to different social forces within the people. In the words of Karl Hedlund, president of the Swedish Folk School Association, "It does not serve any particular group in society, nor any particular ideology. It is hospitable to all the various forces that aim at giving young Swedish adults roots in their country and a free outlook forward, giving each a road of his own to walk...."

"A class of Folk School students is nothing less than a microcosmos that mirrors situations and problems in Swedish society," says a young teacher. "It is the Swedish people of today and of tomorrow." In 1942 56 per cent of the 6,000 students, men and women, came from farm homes as against 81 per cent in 1912; while 22 per cent came from industry and crafts as against 10 per cent thirty years ago. Most of the students go back to their home communities, though some of them may be tempted to move to the towns. Many of them become leaders in social and political life in their own districts.

And what is the aim of these schools—now fifty-nine in number—all over Sweden? One of my colleagues has answered, "To spur the students to healthy protest and independent responsible action." One of the founders in 1868, Dr. Leonard Holmström, held that it was their task to "awaken, kindle, and enlighten the minds of young men, lift their thoughts above the grayness and pettiness of everyday life, give them attitudes that would become fruitful throughout their lives." And the Folk School law of 1919 formulates its purpose in these words: "The aim is to give to older youth and to adults general and civic edu-

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cation. Considerable stress should be laid on fostering individual thinking and moral strength, and the students should be encouraged to know their community and their country, its history and present social conditions, its spiritual and material resources." Democratic citizenship, sound individualism, and humanism, whether religiously motivated or not—these are the three ideals behind the schools.

To achieve these aims and to realize such ideals, the Folk Schools of Sweden have established frame curricula within which the teachers and the schools can vary their teaching as they please. In the five-month winter courses for men and women, and the three-month summer courses for women only, you will find traditional course titles such as history, literature, geography, mathematics, natural science, singing, for women home economics, and for all gymnastics, among "prescribed subjects." But you will not find any traditional course outlines. There are as many types of first or second year history courses as there are history teachers. Sometimes the methods of teaching are very unconventional indeed. Singing, informal discussion, student fact finding and community research, study circles and informal "get-together-evenings" are combined with Grundtvig's "living word."

The Swedish Folk School owes its unique character to this flexible pattern and to the fact that the schools, though free from any formalized government control, are liberally supported by both State and regional governments. In 1943 the general grants-in-aid rose to 2,050,000 kronor as against 120,000 kronor in 1914; and the scholarship aid to needy students, to 650,000 kronor as against 50,000 thirty years ago. The government has heavily engaged itself in the venture of schools that are outside any regimenting formalized control, and has done so with a clear recognition of the fact that democracy

itself calls for informal and untraditional education.

Perhaps the strength of the Folk Schools is that, at their best, they have become true centers of community life. On the Boards are representatives of both regional governments and local communities, both official institutions and voluntary democratic movements, and usually of the alumni associations. Teachers and rectors go out into the communities as lecturers, study circle leaders, organizers. Labor, co-operative, temperance, and Free Church groups hold their conferences at the schools. There are special summer courses for workers and, for the past few years, for vacationing housewives. Community singing has its natural home in the halls of the Folk School, which has been called "the singing school." Free and voluntary schools, close to the problems of the people themselves—such are the Swedish Folk Schools.

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Alf Ahlberg, Rector of Brunnsvik Folk High School

# **Adult Education Started by Action Movements**

Railroads had come; products from Sweden's forests and mountains were gaining a place in world markets; new methods and machines in pulp, paper, and steel production had laid the foundation for an explosive development of industry gaining impetus around 1870; the number of factory workers was soaring, and the rapid industrialization of Swedish rural areas had begun to change the social outlook.

These were a few of the signs of a new era. The new classes and their particular social and economic problems necessitated organized action. So, under intensified influence from German, American, and English social movements, the 1870s gave Sweden its first modern instruments

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nas its ed "the ems of for group action. Temperance lodges came; labor organized unions and called the first strikes. A few years later, as unionization got under way and more radical voices were heard, new political weapons were forged. To aid their struggle for better living conditions in the economic and social field, the newly risen classes founded consumers' co-operatives, and organized national federations of the growing trade unions. All this happened within three thrilling decades.

The general climate of idealism, optimism, and evolutionism nourished, not only hopes of material progress, but also aspirations for a reasonable share in the cultural and social heritage of the nation. It was clear, then, that rural Folk Schools were not enough, nor were parish

libraries, nor the elementary public schools.

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The first attempts to meet the new need of the people for more education outside the formal school system came from intellectual leaders. In 1880 some Stockholm liberals founded the Labor Institute, offering "scientific and humanistic education to those who have not had such education before." Dr. Anton Nyström, the leader of the Institute, used these words: "Enlightenment, spiritual culture, the fitting of the mind to steady and serious work, securing a smooth and unviolent

progress—these are the aims of the Institute."

The Stockholm Labor Institute, which was copied in many other cultural centers of the country, gave the first spur to a lecture movement, carried first to the towns and later to rural Sweden by young academicians. The spirit of this liberal university extension movement, which got under way in the early 1890s, is aptly expressed in the words of one of the leaders, the famous physicist Dr. Hjalmar Öhrwall, "We should not avoid controversial issues—but rather concentrate upon them." With central bureaus in Lund, Göteborg, and Stockholm, the lecture movement spread over the country and was at times probably stronger than in any other country in the world. Out to distant forest villages went the living word, colorful slides, experiment tubes, and exciting personalities. In spite of the unquestionable liberal idealism and the undeniable success of the movement, it was clear, however, that the public lecture (in Sweden never followed by discussions or questions) did not satisfy the needs of the people for more and different education. Nor did the Moving Folk School, an institution borrowed from Finland and introduced into Sweden in 1905. This was a combination of lectures and discussions, study groups and recreation, concentrated into three-week courses which drew together the whole community.

These external forces had to be supplemented from within the social action movements, the temperance, labor, co-operative, Free Church,

and new farm youth organizations.

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Lektor Oscar Olsson

The temperance groups had already been giving support to the lecture movement and, through libraries and discussions, were working for political education. At the turn of the century they embarked on an independent course of action when a temperance lodge of the International Order of Good Templars, IOGT, made history by starting a voluntary study circle. With this new instrument a social movement had entered upon the venture of combining action with education. The aim of the democratic study circle was to make the members, not only more intelligent as temperance supporters, but

also better citizens and better people. The initiator, Lektor Oscar Olsson, wanted those study circles to inspire a strong "we-feeling," as well as a taste for discussion and stimulating reading. The IOGT program grew beyond study circles to include free libraries, leader training, and recreation in the form of amateur theatricals, community singing, and sports.

As the study circles were the brain and conscience of the temperance movement, so they became also that of the political and economic labor movement. Leaders were needed in the young movement, if it was not to depend solely upon a few intellectuals. Constant reconsideration of programs and policies was needed, if the catastrophe of the unsuccessful strike in 1909 was not to be repeated. Intelligent voters were needed, if the chances offered through the new suffrage laws of the first decade were to be utilized. The answer was a workers' education movement, a new cultural, spiritual branch of the political-economic movement. Two steps in this direction were the organization in 1906 of the new Folk School at Brunnsvik and the formation in 1912 of the Workers' Education Association, ABF, as urged by one of the young

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A Class in Drawing at Lillsved Folk High School

Brunnsvik teachers, Rickard Sandler. Labor had "entered the cultural stage of the class struggle," to use Sandler's words. There was no longer the question only of bread and butter but of books and brains.

The ABF created a pattern of importance for other organized social groups in Sweden, the national adult education study circle associations. Temperance, already organized in IOGT, widened the work with a second education-organization inside the National Templars' Order, NTO; farm youth sensed the trend and created at two times of great rural crisis, in 1918 and 1930, two study circle organizations for young adults on the farms, the Young Farmers' Association, JUF, and the Swedish Rural Education Association, SLS, associated with the Farmers' Party. In the middle of the 1930s the white collar unions expanded their economic and political movement with a study circle organization, TBV, and the church youth in 1931 formed Sweden's Christian Education Association, SKB.

These became the important "alphabets" of Swedish popular democracy. The voluntary study work was mapped and planned by leaders who were often lay men and women, and the content of the studies was as wide as Swedish democracy itself. The organizations encouraged

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the establishment of free recreation groups for drama, music, singing, sports, etc., and special libraries for the local groups. They also tried to build the public lecture idea into the study circle scheme, but in a new version, that of the lecture course with from four to six lectures in a series. Another invention was the correspondence circle, pioneered by the co-operatives. With the correspondence method the study circles depended less upon trained leadership, and their work could have the benefit of expert advice throughout the study period. Finally, in 1936 the study circle organizations joined in the Co-ordinated Adult Education Associations, thereby establishing a national planning pattern of great importance.

It became a matter of good democratic logic that this multiform study circle movement should receive State and local public support. In 1942-43 the grants from the government and from regional and local political bodies amounted to almost one million kronor, while grants

from the organizations rose to 500,000 kronor.

### An Integral Part of Democratic Sweden

How many Swedes are reached by these varied adult education activities? The Folk Schools annually receive more than 6,000 students, most of them about twenty years old. Labor's ABF and the affiliated labor study groups take in another 91,000 in more than 7,000 circles with 1,400 libraries. The temperance people in IOGT have 19,000 students in their 1,500 circles with 1,600 libraries, and in NTO almost 8,000 in more than 900 circles. The farm youth enroll 15,000 in the 1,600 SLS groups, and almost 5,000 in the 600 JUF circles. The co-operative study groups (which do not receive any public support) draw annually more than 50,000 members, and the white collar unions register more than 5,000 in their 400 TBV circles. The 6,500 public lectures have an average attendance of more than 100, and the lecture series registered in 1942-43 close to 50,000. There were in 1942 more than 3,000 public libraries, besides the 5,000 study circle libraries, and the number of users was respectively 1,000,000 and 375,000.

The significance does not lie in the figures but in the forms. Adult education has grown to be an integral part of the free and voluntary social movements in Sweden. It has engendered community co-operation through Folk Schools, adult education councils, and numerous conferences among leaders. It has developed types of education work significant in themselves: the Folk School, the study circle, the small group library, the correspondence circle. Finally, and perhaps most important, it has retained its integrity and its freedom, though the

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mocaders s was aged government, the regional councils, and other political institutions have

given financial and sometimes legal support.

Any realistic observer will note, however, that Swedish adult education is far from perfect. One of the grave dangers is the tendency to rest on our laurels, to keep unchanged the once invented methods and means, to be interested chiefly in those who come to the meetings, those who are alert and awake. Another weakness undoubtedly is the fact that there is little thorough utilization of modern means of communication. The common man's adult education still does not reach more than a few of the common men! There is also the danger, present in all social growth, of waning strength and vitality: the leadership tends to become self-perpetuating, the movements no longer "move," enthusiasm is no longer the key, the great victories are won, compromise means more than conquest.

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For these reasons it is encouraging to know that authorities recently have called together a commission to study future organization and co-ordination of adult education in Sweden. The head of the commission is the educational director in the Swedish broadcasting system. The intention is not only to form a sound basis for public support, but also to investigate thoroughly what have been the shortcomings of the movement and to explore what can be done to alleviate them. Special attention will be turned toward the vital problem of spreading wider and

deeper education to adults in the rural areas.

Social change has been engendered in a many-sided adult education movement in Sweden. The "middle way" democracy was brought forth by leaders and followers schooled and educated in that movement. Maybe the idyls of that middle way democracy are gone. There are indications of deep unrest inside the popular movements. Once the study groups were cells for democratic rejuvenation; they may be so again. Facing the postwar world, Swedes like other democratic citizens need to secure through adult education, voluntarily but with responsibility, the qualities that are aptly described by a pioneer in the field, Carl Cederblad: "Sense and sapience, poise and politeness."

Pictures by courtesy of the American Swedish News Exchange

Per G. Stensland came to this country with a Fellowship from the American-Scandinavian Foundation to study adult education. He is now a lecturer in Swedish at Columbia University

# Ragnar Ostberg

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Architect of the Stockholm Town Hall

### By ELLEN JOHNSON

THE SECOND half of the nineteenth century Swedish architecture was suffering from the same blight that was then affecting the architecture of most other European countries and the United States, namely eclecticism, copying old foreign styles in cheap materials. We have many buildings in this country that are fantastic combinations of several historic styles, jumbled together with little regard for integrity of plan, validity of decoration, or quality of materials. For example, a Saracenic fortification might be superimposed on a Gothic chapel with details in Chinese lattice work, the whole thrown together—or rather assembled with a magnificent flourish—as the home of a wealthy Ohio farmer, or a Pennsylvania mining magnate.

Fortunately for the architecture of Sweden, there developed in the eighties and nineties an interest in old Swedish culture; the architects made study trips at home as well as abroad; professorial chairs were established in the history of Scandinavian art; Nordiska Museet was built to house examples of old Scandinavian culture. In studying the history of their own art, the Swedish architects found many sources of inspiration in their revolt against vulgar imitation of foreign styles, spurious materials, and confused planning. In the medieval buildings still standing, the Renaissance castles of the Vasas, and the seventeenth-eighteenth century castles and private homes, they found clear, direct planning, solid construction, and genuine handmade materials. They found that their forefathers had built well and honestly, and they determined to do likewise.

The architectural school that developed in the early twentieth century as a result of this movement is usually referred to as the "national-romantic" style. Its proponents co-operated with the handicraft societies (following the ideals of William Morris and Ruskin) as a further development of this revived interest in good materials, good designs, and good workmanship.

These ideals, one will note, are actually not far removed from those of the functionalists; however, the manner in which the ideals were put into practice by the national-romantics differs considerably from the practice of the functionalists. I do not mean to imply that these two opposed styles are really similar, but merely to suggest that the new





Courtesy The American Swedish Monthly Ragnar Östberg 1866-1945

architecture, the style-to-endall-styles, has as its basic principles those same ideals of direct planning, solid construction, and superior materials which have always existed in a good building. Functionalism is not so new as it looks.

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The nationalists adapted these principles in a romantic way; emphasizing sometimes the national, sometimes the romantic, and sometimes the principles. When the principles were emphasized it was the beginning of functionalism, but that is a later development.

Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, built in 1904 by Isak Gustav Clason (1856-1930) was one of the earliest of the national-romantic buildings. It recalls Swedish and Danish Renaissance castles, particularly Frederiksborg at Hilleröd. There is some difficulty in seeing the logic and order in design that Clason attempted to achieve, partly because of the borrowed styles (in the interior for instance Nether-

landish-Gothic) and partly because the building as it stands represents only one wing of a projected quadrangle.

It is easier to see the noble design and the national character of Carl Westman's (1866-1936) Law Courts in Stockholm built 1912-1915. There is no doubt that Vadstena castle with its massive central tower inspired this severe, restrained building. The effect of the interior is more confused and romantic than that of the exterior, but the whole is unified and powerful.

Other examples of the national-romantic school that must be mentioned even in a brief survey are Lars I. Wahlman's (b. 1870) famous Engelbrektskyrkan and Ivar Tengbom's (b. 1878) Högalidkyrkan, both in Stockholm. The Engelbrekt Church, built 1906-1914, is of red

brick. The use of wood in the ceiling and arches of the central part recalls early Swedish churches; but the whole effect is rather romantic, individual, and a trifle ornate. Tengbom's Högalid Church (1923) of red brick, with its lofty slender nave and two towers, brings to mind the cathedral of Visby. The expressive simplicity of line and form creates a deep impression of religious aspiration.

National-romanticism may be said to have held vogue for the first two and a half decades of this century. However, the architects mentioned did not limit themselves to this particular style. One example from many is Tengbom's Concert House (1926) in Stockholm, a fine example of the neo-classic ideal that preceded functionalism. It was, however, by the greatest proponent of the national-romantic style that one of the most beautiful buildings of our century was produced. This

is the Stockholm Town Hall by Ragnar Östberg.

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Ragnar Östberg was born in Stockholm in 1866, studied at the University of Engineering and Architecture from 1885-89, at the Royal Academy of Arts till 1891. He came to this country on a travelling fellowship in 1893, even trying, in vain, to get an architectural job here. He returned to Sweden and after three years received another travelling fellowship which enabled him to go to Germany, England, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Russia. Finally in the winter of 1899 he returned home. He writes that in Finland "the sounds of the Swedish language rang caressingly in my ear, and the white steamer carried me across the Baltic back to my native shore, like a kindly swan." His words have a poetic, romantic touch that one easily associates with the designer of Stockholm's Stadshuset. Ostberg was Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy of Arts from 1921-31. The Stockholm Town Hall, completed 1923, brought him fame and recognition abroad as well as in his own country. In 1926 he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the first Swede to be given that honor. In May 1934 the American Institute of Architects awarded him its Gold Medal. On that occasion President Roosevelt said: "I take particular pleasure in presenting this medal for I am, I believe, the only President of the United States to have Swedish blood in his veins." It was not only the honor of awards and presentations that came to Ostberg, but also that greater honor of seeing his work inspire and influence the designing of many buildings in Sweden, England, and the United States. When Östberg arrived here in 1934, his influence was expressed in true American fashion by Arthur Loomis Harmon, "We have been copying his stuff for years." At his death, which took place February 5 of this year, he was hailed everywhere as the foremost architect of Sweden, and one of his colleagues, Hakon Ahlberg, said

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American-Swedish News Exchange The Maritime Museum, by Ragnar Östberg

of him that as long as the Town Hall lifts its golden crowns over Sweden's capital, his name will never be forgotten.

Östberg's work includes many private homes, such as those for T. Laurin, K. O. Bonnier, Ph. Geber, J. Kjellberg, Ake Bonnier, and several public buildings, among them the Östermalm School, Stockholm, the Odd Fellows' Hall, Nyköping, the Patent Office, Stockholm, the Crematorium, Hälsingborg, and the Maritime Museum, Stockholm. The private homes are restrained, dignified, often reminiscent of the Swedish eighteenth century manor houses. The public buildings are individual, powerful adaptations of the national monumental traditions. The Östermalm School (1910) with its massive proportions, simple direct plan, and rather bare brick surface, brings to mind Swedish medieval fortifications. The Maritime Museum, Stockholm (1937) is a long, low building whose curved form, grace, and airiness are the result of a lively, individual touch. All of Östberg's buildings, whether public or private, possess charm and imagination. He is a designer who still believes that the architect is an artist, more than an engineer. To the functionalists, the opponents of national-romanticism or any other



American-Swedish News Exchange

Picture of the Town Hall from the Air

style, Östberg has expressed himself as honestly and openly in words as he has consistently done in his buildings: "The 'radical functional theory' seems to wish to prevent a development that takes into consideration the varying requirements, milieu, and individual traits. For example, a bathing establishment or a parliament building receives exactly the same treatment. At present a feeling of fixity seems to characterize concrete structures and the new tendency. To be controlled by technique instead of controlling it is still the slavish watchword of the concrete school.

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"Instinct or natural wisdom advises us to learn from and to cherish those living treasures of form that past ages have, so to say, receded and left on the shore where we happen to live. When the desire for novelty passes them by, this is due rather to the hurry to move onward than to the spur to higher cultural development, which is attained only by well weighed and mature adaptation."

Sufficient time has elapsed since the completion of the Town Hall in 1923 to consider it without bias, either for or against. From the point of view of situation, not even the extreme purists could deny that it is magnificent, standing in the heart of the city, on a point of land projecting out into Lake Mälar. Its tower surmounted by the three crowns,



The Civic Court Showing the Archway

the arms of the Kingdom, proudly represents the City on the Water in a majestic, permanent way.

There is a powerful simplicity in the general effect; in the details, a richness too insistent for some tastes. But it is a perfect thing for what it is: it is a representational building, and as such may be permitted,

and must be expected, to exhibit a certain magnificence.

The building is not only the culmination of the national-romantic school; it is also a synthesis of Swedish decorative arts in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Ragnar Östberg employed only native workmen and he co-operated with Svenska Slöjdföreningen (Swedish Arts and Crafts Society); consequently, the Town Hall is furnished with the best available contemporary sculpture, painting, mosaic, furniture, textiles, glass, silver, china, etc. This co-operation of the architect and decorative designers is one of the finest contributions that Sweden has made to the art world. We shall regard the interior decoration in detail later, but first we must consider the general plan and the history of the building.

Even as a young student, Ragnar Östberg had been interested in municipal buildings; one of his first original compositions, entered in the 1893 annual exhibition of arts, had been of such a nature. While taking his study trips abroad, he had made many observations and notes



American-Swedish News Exchange

The Blue Hall

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of town halls in Germany, England, France, Spain, Italy, and so on, always with the idea of a Stockholm Town Hall in the back of his mind. In 1902 architects were invited to submit designs in competition for just such a building. In 1906 the City Council gave first prize to Östberg's designs, which had been entered under the pseudonym "Mälardrott." There was a great deal of delay and discussion, largely over the question of site; but finally in 1911 construction of the Town Hall was begun according to Östberg's plans and on the site upon which he insisted. The building was not completed until 1923, when it was formally inaugurated on Midsummer Eve. The length of time spent in construction may be attributed to many factors, among them the architect's imaginative mind, the care and precision in all details, and the fact that the draught office, workshops, and studios for sculptors, painters, iron and copper-workers, textile designers, etc., were all installed in the building under construction. The direct co-operation thus established naturally effected many exchanges of ideas. Of course such a method of procedure took time and money (about four and one-half million dollars); but the result is an incomparable unity.

A town hall has a double duty: function and representation. Toward the former end, the Town Hall in Stockholm has been designed directly for the most efficient use of the administrative offices housed therein.



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Murals by Prince Eugen in the Great Gallery, Sometimes Called the Prince's Gallery

Toward representation, the Town Hall is as splendid as all the finest available materials and workmanship could make it. The plan is simple: offices, galleries, and chambers surround two courts. The large Civic Court is uncovered and one side of it opens through a portico onto a terrace leading down to Lake Mälar; the other court, the Blue Hall, is covered. Though the colonnaded side, facing the water, is vaguely reminiscent of the Doge's Palace in Venice, the building is distinctly national in character. Even if the history of Stockholm and Sweden were not thoroughly represented in the sculpture and painting throughout the buildings and grounds, one would still know that it is a Swedish building. The towers with their onion-shaped spires, the copper roofs, the brick work remind one of Riddarholm Church and the Vasa castles of Gripsholm, Vadstena, and Kalmar.

In regard to this nationalism, Östberg himself says: "One would fain see the Town Hall stand out as the right new tune to good old words." The very bricks used are in the same proportion as those used by Gustaf Vasa in his sixteenth century fortifications, called "monk brick," three and three-quarters by five and one-eighth by ten and five-eighths inches,



American-Swedish News Exchange The Great Gallery, Showing the Reliefs by J. A. G. Acke in the Window Embrasures

much larger than the ordinary brick which is two by four and one-half by eight and one-half inches. The bricks are a warm red color; those on the external façades are handmade; those in the Blue Hall are machinemade, but chiselled by hand after being put into position on the wall.

This care in the quality of materials and workmanship is constant throughout the building. For example, the capitals and columns of the southern arcade are pinkish granite monoliths from the west coast of Sweden; the floor, steps, and platform of the Blue Hall are of Kolmård marble; the columns in the Prince's Gallery are of polished black Småland granite with bases and capitals of white Ekeberg marble. The exterior three crowns on the tower and the free-standing figures on the roofs are gilded. The copper for the roofs was donated by private citizens of Stockholm. How the Stockholmers must have enjoyed watching their City Hall grow up slowly before them! Indeed it has a sense of time in its construction; it does not stand as though it had sprung up full-blown, but as though it had been growing through the centuries. This romantic time sense is a deliberate achievement on the part of the architect. One may see how this is accomplished, for example, in the Blue Hall. Some of the columns have Doric proportions, others Ionic;





Detail from the Fresco "Apotheosis of Stockholm" by Axel Törneman

some columns are fluted, others decorated with vertical chevrons; the square wall openings are not centered over the arches. and the vertical ones with baldachinos not over the square ones. Though such a deliberate variation may be considered architecturally false and romantic. it is effective. The Blue Hall. incidentally, is so called because it was originally intended that the brick work should be coated with a blue-tinted lime; but when the masons had chiselled the bricks, the warm red color was so enticing that the architect decided to leave it in its natural state. This hall is used for popular meetings, dances, and concerts. The open stairway leads to the Golden Chamber and the State Apartments.

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Among the latter is the splendid Council Chamber where the City Councillors convene. The walls are panelled in wood and colored canvas; the pine roof-trusses are also painted; the color scheme in grey and red is typical of the eighteenth century Swedish interior design. The galleries are panelled. The furniture, designed by Carl Malmsten, is of polished birch inlaid with rosewood. On one side the lofty windows open out toward the water and the city; on the other toward the Civic Court.

On festival occasions honored guests and the Town Councillors are received in the Gallery. This is usually referred to as the Prince's Gallery because of the murals painted by Prince Eugen. In a lyric, modified-abstract style and soft glowing colors, Prince Eugen has represented "The City by the Water" in the view one sees from out the windows of the gallery. The recesses of these tall windows are decorated in stucco reliefs, depicting such subjects as forest nymphs and even a young Stockholm couple. They were designed by J. A. G. Acke (1859-1924), a very talented artist who worked in several media, including graphics, murals, landscape, seascape, and portraiture.

Among the other wall decorations especially worthy of attention are the frescoes in the Blue Room (an entrance chamber from the balcony of the Blue Hall) executed by Axel Törneman (1880-1925). The general theme of these paintings is the Town Hall in process of erection. In "The Apotheosis of Stockholm," one of the most impressive of the compositions, the artist reveals his strong, abbreviated style. Though the figures are forceful and almost violent, they are masterfully held within the flat-surface requirement of a good wall decoration.

A vast number of other artists worked on the building, inside and out, such as Ernst Spolén and E. G. Asplund who contributed furniture designs; Maja Sjöström who composed and arranged textiles—carpets, curtains, and furniture coverings; Melchior Wernstedt who arranged electric fittings (except in the State Apartments) and who designed the intarsia and furniture in the cellars; and Yngve Berg who decorated walls in the basement restaurant with pictures representing scenes from poems by Bellman. On the exterior, the following

sculptures are particularly notable: the marble statues on the waterside terrace representing Strindberg, Josephson, and Fröding by Carl Eldh; the St. George on the Maiden Tower by Christian Eriksson; the Birger Jarl monument by Gustav Sandberg; and the column by Ragnar Östberg carrying the figure of Engelbrekt, the Deliverer, by Christian Eriksson.

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The proud history to which these monuments testify and the representational character of the Town Hall culminate in the Golden Chamber. It is a tremendous room, seating 750 persons at a banquet. The room has an almost oriental sumptuousness; it glows with color. The walls are entirely covered with mosaic on a golden ground; the floor is of patterned marble; the ceiling is of colored cement;



Self-Portrait of Einar Forseth in Mosaic in the Golden Chamber

the stately windows, opening onto the Civic Court and the Blue Hall, have deep embrasures, richly decorated. The enamel and gold mosaics, by Einar Forseth (a self-portrait of the artist is included among them) represent on the southern wall the early Stockholm with St. Eric, and on the northern wall Stockholm as "The Queen of the Mälar."

The Golden Chamber serves as the climax of the building's magnificence, representational, historic, and romantic. It is a building in the "grand manner," and it is a synthesis of the decorative arts of the first quarter of this century. It represents a period, of a certain kind of grandeur, that has passed; but it is more than all this, The Town Hall is no longer just a building; to many Swedes and to many foreigners, it has become one of the symbols of a city, and of a country.



American-Swedish News Exchange
A Dainty Statuette at the Water's Edge

Ellen Johnson is Art Librarian in Oberlin College



Colonel Reistad Skiing with Pack and Weapons on His Back

#### Lieutenant Colonel Ole Reistad

By CATHERINE GROTH SPARROW

THE RECENT CLOSING of the Norwegian flying center in Canada, Camp Little Norway, and its transfer to England, has brought into the news again one of the big men of this war, Lieutenant Colonel Ole Reistad.

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> Colonel Reistad has been the leading spirit of Camp Little Norway. What this center has meant to Norway and the Allied nations can be told in full only when war censorship is abolished. Until then we can have but a fragmentary picture of the unbelievably heroic and perilous ac

tivity of the Norwegian underground. But when the truth can be told, the stories of the boys who made their way to Camp Little Norway will constitute one of the most remarkable epics of this war, which already has had so many.

That Camp Little Norway could be organized at all was remarkable when one considers the size of Norway and the fact that the country was totally occupied by the enemy. Equally remarkable, perhaps, was that young men, volunteers all of them, would risk indescribable



Colonel Reistad Has Won the Loyalty of the Danes as well as the Norwegians. A Spokesman of the Danes in the R.N.A.F. Is Handing Him a Donation from Them

hardships and travel for months, sometimes over a year, often in the midst of the greatest dangers, to begin, in a new language and on foreign soil, a long training which in the end would only equip them to go into battle and risk their lives again. The success of Camp Little Norway was primarily due, of course, to the Norwegian boys' passion for freedom and their will to regain it for their country. But at the same time much of the credit must go to Colonel Reistad. His personality, his leadership, made the camp what it was. His command was a guarantee to the boys that they would be given a chance to do their utmost in the war.

Colonel Reistad has been called an animator, an inspirer of the young. He awakens their enthusiasm, he has their

confidence. On the background of his various international and Olympic championships and from his long experience in training sports youth in pre-war Norway, he has a natural contact with the young both as friend and commanding officer. He is an inspiring leader because he expects more of himself than of his surroundings.

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Colonel Reistad was born some fortyseven years ago at Furuset, a suburb of Oslo. He comes of old Norwegian peasant stock and some say that his ancestry explains his character. His is the sane logic of the man close to the soil; the clear common sense of the one who must plan ahead and take everything-elements and possible events-into consideration. He also has the peasant's deep-rooted love of



Inspecting the Boys Who Are Ready to Leave for Action Overseas

country and his passion for freedom and independence. Colonel Reistad's physique is that of the typical Norwegian. He has the strength and vigor of a young man, and can out-distance the best skiers among the boys in cross country runs. He has the warm, quick smile of sincerity, the alertness of the man of action.

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It is a typical peculiarity of the Norwegians that as a people they do not follow leaders but principles. However, if a man is able to make them believe that certain principles are right they accept his point of view and strive to follow him in action. Colonel Reistad inspires people to want to do things themselves. He sets objectives and alternatives, lets people draw their own conclusions and work out for themselves the best way of reaching their goal.

When the Germans invaded Norway in 1940, Colonel Reistad, at that time Captain Reistad, was in charge of the reconnaissance squadron at Kjeller airdrome near Oslo. When he received the news in the middle of the night, he realized that one of the first objectives of the Germans would be the destruction of the airfield. Consequently he ordered skis put on all the planes for landing on the frozen lakes farther north. He then set forth to his men his plan of resistance, and called for volunteers. They responded to a man, and he was able to withdraw with his squadron in the early morning just before the bombing started. From their hideouts in the mountains his squadron kept going for a month with reconnaissance work, daily hunted by the Luftwaffe. When the South of Norway was given up he withdrew to



An Air View of Camp Little Norway at Muskoka

the North with what was left of his squadron, and for several weeks carried out successful attacks against enemy lines, using the reconnaissance planes as improvised dive-bombers.

Colonel Reistad and his men did not want to leave Norway; their desire was to resist to the end in their own country. But when the King and the Norwegian Government, feeling that they could be of more service to the country abroad than at home, ordered them to leave, Colonel Reistad reluctantly told his men to go; first to England and if necessary to Canada. He assured them that the work of the Norwegian Air Force would be carried on, and he promised them that it would not lose its identity or be swallowed up in the air forces of other countries. It would remain, he said, a Norwegian unit, fighting for Norway.

This promise Colonel Reistad has kept.

The Royal Norwegian Air Force, an amalgamation of the Norwegian Army Air Force and the Navy Air Force, was set up at Camp Little Norway by officers and men who had left the South of Norway to go to England in order to reorganize the Air Force and come back to the North of Norway, where the fight was still going on at that time. The air force in Canada consisted of Norwegian boys exclusively, from ground crews to flying pilots and technical staffs. The R.N.A.F. has its own squadrons and its own commanders. Norwegian boys were in command of fighter units, flying over Europe with the R.A.F. or in the Coastal Command. They participated in the engagements of the Allies, but in their own planes and with their own crews. They have been remarkable pilots and squadron leaders, and during the year 1943 one Norwegian squadron had the highest score W ever Cold that star But Cold He and eral "Se it."

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of enemy planes among all United Nations Fighter Units in the United Kingdom.

When he left Norway in 1940, however, things did not seem too hopeful for Colonel Reistad. At first it was thought that an elementary flying school could be started in Finland, and there he was sent. But soon German infiltration began, and Colonel Reistad felt it best to move on. He set out for America, through Russia and Japan, arriving in Canada after several months' travel, on December 15, 1940.

One of Colonel Reistad's mottos is, "Set a special target and concentrate on it." The target on his arrival in Canada was Camp Little Norway. When he took over the command of the Royal Norwegian Air Forces Training activities in Toronto in 1941, he made every man feel that he had a share in the Camp and responsibility for it. Every man knew he had come there to help make Norway free and felt that all must work toward that common goal. The spirit of co-operation made Camp Little Norway what it was. It was financed by the Norwegian Government in Exile through money earned by the Norwegian Merchant Marine's participation in the battle of the Seven Seas. Every boy at Little Norway knew this and did his share to minimize costs. Furthermore, from camp canteen profits and voluntary taxes the boys contributed to the purchase of planes for further training. From money collected by Norwegian-Americans for the benefit of the boys, and which they did not need, they contributed \$60,000 to boys overseas, and \$80,000 toward help for Norwegian boys training in Sweden.

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"We must stick together," Colonel Reistad repeats. "We may not all be of the same opinion, but once a course has been adopted we must all follow it, and stick together no matter what happens."

As a young man Colonel Reistad showed his ability to make people cooperate. The boys of the town he was living in, sports-minded like most Norwe-

gian youths, had no stadium. Reistad, then seventeen, decided this was wrong. They needed a stadium and should have it. But how? He called his friends together, set forth his project, asked for suggestions. One offered to do this, another that, and with enthusiastic co-operation, the stadium was built in no time.

When Colonel Reistad suggested that Camp Little Norway be situated farther away from a big city like Toronto, and chose the site at Muskoka, he again called for co-operation. Through his remarkable ability of cutting red tape and with the boys' enthusiastic assistance, he established a new camp which, with its comfortable accommodations, including log buildings, a swimming pool, and a sports track, became a temporary home as well as a training center.

Colonel Reistad is a "doer" not a "talker." He wants things done and is not always what one might call a diplomat. When he talks he says what he thinks. He is absolutely sincere and is ready to take responsibility for what he believes in. He has a nice sense of humor.

Once a Norwegian boy who had just arrived in Canada under very trying conditions went into a bar in Toronto and got drunk. Against all orders, he replied with a punch in the nose when someone in the place started to criticize Norway and the Norwegians. He knocked out first one, then two, and finally six people, including a couple of policemen. Finally he was overpowered and locked up. The affair was serious. Canadian officers of the peace had been injured, and bad feeling might spring up on all sides if the matter came to court. The Canadian government agreed not to press the case if the man were shipped out of the country at once. Reistad agreed to this with alacrity, but the man insisted on seeing his Commander first. He wanted to explain his side of the case. "Yes, I know how you felt," Reistad said, "and speaking technically, you did a perfect job. But in this world perfection

is not always desirable. There is what is called a middle course."

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Colonel Reistad must view, with some regret, the transfer to Europe of Little Norway, as a fond parent regrets sending a beloved child out into the world. But as the parent feels certain his child will make good, so Colonel Reistad has the greatest hopes for the future of the R.N.A.F. He feels it still has a most important rôle to play. He believes that after the war the R.N.A.F. will remain a vital unit in Norwegian defense. And as for civil aviation he sees endless possibilities for it in Norway when the war is over. In a country where vast stretches of mountainous land makes the building of roads and railway lines extremely difficult, a perfected air service and air transport system will be of the utmost importance to the nation. The increased utilization of electric power generated from waterfalls and the development of aviation will give new impetus to Norwegian industry and make possible the marketing of manufactured products. While Norway, because of its terrain, has few good landing fields, it possesses innumerable lakes suitable for this purpose, and it may be foreseen that not too long after the war practically every little hamlet, now isolated and undeveloped, will have its well-equipped flying port and consequent activity.

Like most military leaders Colonel Reistad feels that war is evil. He hates the waste, the destruction, the annihilation of so many young, promising lives. In the long run humanity must evolve some other way of settling disputes. Perhaps through the hardships and suffering of war people will learn to choose their leaders wisely. It is only by full co-operation between peoples and their governments on a basis of truth, justice, and liberty, that humanity can receive, in the form of benefits and improvements, some compensation for the losses and misery caused by war.



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## Kierkegaard, a Religious Author

BY PAUL L. HOLMER

ÖREN KIERKEGAARD said about his book, Training in Christianity, Uthat "it is certainly the truest and most perfect thing I have written." And in the understanding and interpretation of the immense literature of Denmark's greatest philosopher-there are over thirty works and a huge journal completed within a lifetime of forty-two years (1813-1855)—one cannot go amiss in assuming that the author's judgment provides the best clue to both the measure of his other works and his object of literary pursuit. As a bit of corroboration for this orientation, one need only read the little autobiographical account, The Point of View, whose contents disclose exactly what the title promises. Written in 1848 before the most strenuously religious works appeared, it makes clear a religious purpose. The thesis, stated and illustrated by references to the pseudonymous ethical and esthetic works, is that Kierkegaard was a religious author from first to last.

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Kierkegaard's thought has been and will continue to be misinterpreted. Sometimes one is told that its import lies in its contribution to "existential philosophy," another time that it is as nihilistic as Nietzsche's and as orthodox as Barth's. The Danish thinker was aware of his likely fate and warned future readers against all interpreters who would make his stringencies more palatable by rendering them in terms at once familiar and without challenge. Parsons and professors, he thought, were the worst offenders because they failed to become Christian when they already were being paid for so being and to become good because they knew the definition thereof. Kierkegaard writes not for posterity's amusement or that others may have something to categorize and catalogue—he proposes instead that since no man can ever live without religious or ethical or esthetical determinants, positive or negative, a man ought to examine his life, utilizing his capacity for reflection, to disclose by which determinants he is living. Like Socrates the Dane knew that an unexamined life was not worth living.

Addressing himself to an old and hallowed inquiry, Kierkegaard was nonetheless able to express himself in a novel and even startling manner. Rather than presenting disinterested, dispassionate, and altogether judicial descriptions of competing views, Kierkegaard places us through the medium of pseudonymous authors in contexts where everything-the pseudonym's character, the style, and the contents-depicts the way of life under consideration. Thus there is always an appropriate earnestness in the author's confession and a corresponding need for earnestness on the part of the reader; for a choice is offered to him, and it can be resolved only by his own decision.

The Concept of Dread is a little book, "a simple psychological deliberation," the author says; but it concerns a weighty question, that of the nature of sin. It is a subtle production, a little didactic but this on purpose, for the author proposes to make explicit in the direction of the dogma of original sin the implications of Angst as man finds this within himself. This is an attempt to approach the conclusions of dogmatic Christianity without actually assuming it as a premise. Logically and religiously the work is immanental because it seeks to discern the religious significance of a factor within the human scene without reference to external or transcendent objects. Rightly then does the title read The Concept of Dread just as the emphasis in Philosophical

Fragments, published four days earlier in 1844, had been upon "the project of thought," even though the argument there tends in the direction of the dogma of the Incarnation. For anyone who assumes that speculation on the subject of sin concerns only a serpent, apples, and two fictitious people in a remote Eden, this is an excellent education in the grandeur and relevance of philosophical-religious inquiry.

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Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life is another immanental work in the sense that it aims to discern the potentiality, the greatest possibility, within several occasions of a man's life. From a wedding, we are told, a man can learn the significance of the resolution that love conquers all—that this demands in turn a real conception of life, of oneself, and of God; at the side of a grave, anyone can mark well the decisiveness of death, that it is the one thing certain yet the only thing about which so little is known, and that one does well to live earnestly, for in the grave it is too late.

This little book accompanied Stages on Life's Way (April, 1845) and served to provide a religious meditation congruent with the latter huge esthetical-ethical treatise.

All the later works here to be reviewed are in a way the fulfillment, the promise, of what Kierkegaard called "the Christian movement in reflection" (Point of View). This Christian transition had meant a reflection out of the interesting and the witty (away from the esthetical portrayed in Either/Or and the Stages, etc.), through the profound and the philosophical (the ethical and the speculative, found in the afore-mentioned and the Postscript, etc.), and into the simple. The religious writings which accompanied the philosophical works detail a movement one might describe as a religious one, from the God which man finds to the God who finds man. In the Training in Christianity (1850), For Self-Examination (1850), and Judge for Yourselves (writ-

ten in 1851-52 as a sequel to the former. but not published until 1876) Kierkegaard seems to be presenting Christianity not in the interest of man, but in the interest of God. It is safe to say that most readers of the English translations will miss the note of extenuating adjustment proffered by most writers today on the subject of Christianity. Americans are accustomed to theologizing which begins with a demonstration of the advantage in belief, and sermonizing which is replete with inept and loose scientific analogies and unwarranted literary allusions; but with Kierkegaard it is different. One might say that all his previous works (he called them his education) had cast doubt upon the claim that Christianity is in any wise of men. For him at least, the issues were now clear-Christianity is of God, the transcendent in time, and is to be declared in His interest. And to this task of declaration he brings the finest of talent and a religious understanding which demanded that he utilize another pseudonym, Anti-Climacus, to indicate that these ideals were too high for him, just as earlier pseudonyms had been used because the ideals were too low.

Training in Christianity begins with the presentation of a figure who invites all who are heavy-laden to come to him. The "Inviter" is by report a God-Man. This report to Kierkegaard is not a thesis to be defended or an hypothesis to be made plausible by experience. Without apology, Kierkegaard portrays the "Inviter" as a discontinuity, a breach in man's experience—He is, in short, an ordinary-looking man who claims to be God.

What follows from this extraordinary claim? Contrary to the expectations of moderns, Kierkegaard has Anti-Climacus, his pseudonymous author, show that this man is God only to those who follow Him. He is not God because of His profundity, the miracles performed, or the manifold consequences of His life. Nor does the attestation of centuries of history or a

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single book help matters. The reflecting man is brought into a predicament, for obviously enough, the argument for Christ's deity moves in a circle—He is the authority for the statement that He is the authority or, in our day, He is the authority for the book which prosecutes the claim.

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Unless one begins then within the circle, one can never effect the transition from the man to the God. The God-Man is qualitatively different from every man but only to those who have made a leap and occupy the same standpoint as the "Inviter." The training in Christian living begins when one becomes aware that the historical Jesus is an Incognito whose identity is hidden to all who approach Him without faith. For most of His contemporaries He was not apparently God. Faith was the condition for seeing beneath the "unrecognizableness" in times past and will continue to be so in the future. History discloses nothing about Him as God. Kierkegaard's words seem appropriate to our contemporary scene:

What the modern philosophy understands by faith is what properly is called an opinion, or what is loosely called in everyday speech believing. Christianity is made into a doctrine; this doctrine is then preached to a person, and then he believes that it is so, as this teacher says. The next stage therefore is to comprehend this doctrine—that is what philosophy does. On the whole, this is quite right, in case Christianity were a doctrine; but since it is not that, this is a crazy proceeding. Faith in a pregnant sense has to do with the God-Man. But the God-Man, the sign of contradiction, refused to employ direct communication-and demands faith. (pp. 140-141.)

Any proof that this "Inviter" is God is invalid because by the nature of the claim the conclusion of the argument would concern a quality that neither premise could contain. Kierkegaard has nothing new to add to the miscarried attempts at proving the truth of Christianity. He utilizes his

tremendous powers of reflection to make clear what Christianity is and what it is not and to understand why a man cannot understand.

A follower of the "Inviter" can demonstrate nothing except his inability to understand. The "Inviter" discloses a man's inadequacies through manifold indirect means. He can be followed only if He is obeyed. A follower's life will begin with a discontinuity in history and continue in marked heterogeneity to the world in the degree to which he is committed to dying to relativities and living in relation to the Absolute.

Kierkegaard has here described Christianity in its ideality, and, as even the most casual reader is aware, has distinguished carefully between Christianity itself and its institutional and social forms. The two smaller works, For Self-Examination and Judge for Yourselves, seek to press the requirement of this ideality into the broader areas of life where a man has been dulled by the propriety and the mediocrity of Christendom. The purpose is to stimulate him to reconstruct, not the ideal, but his life. With astounding and almost frightening clarity, Kierkegaard calls the reader's attention to the unbounded pride in supposing in Christendom that all are willing to do the truth, if only they could learn what it is. Arguing that Scripture is a mirror, Kierkegaard asks if we ought not to be more concerned about what we see of ourselves in the mirror than the mirror itself. Though not for a moment disparaging the science since called Biblical criticism, Kierkegaard antedates by half a century those who in disclaiming theories of inerrancy, infallibility, and verbal inspiration for the New and Old Testaments yet find as much religious relevance in Christ's person. Kierkegaard is so bold as to show that even the time-honored Protestant objective guaranty of the Scripture is not necessary in order that one be a reflective Christian. He is able to enjoin his readers to remember that in reading the sacred literature—"It is I that am here addressed, it is about me this is said."

Some of the profoundest utterances on the nature of religious doubt are to be found in these pages. Kierkegaard is examining himself as well as the reader; and he finds with him that doubt is seldom intellectual in origin. And the fact that followers in ancient times, the doers of the word, had few doubts indicates not that they were bigoted but that by following they had known the doctrine. The reluctance to obey is the source of unbelief, says Kierkegaard, just as obedience is the requisite of belief.

Judge for Yourselves proposes that we become sober as Christians and admit with the gentry of all time (cf. Acts 2:12) that this Christian sobriety appears to be drunkenness. But if this be so, must we not judge ourselves to be not thoroughly sober, for who believes we are really drunk? Man has tricked himself by creating Christendom where men do not have to be sober in order to be called Christian and where everyone is slightly intoxicated by the thin beer of a practical and a becoming sort of preaching. To seek first the Kingdom of God means Christian soberness; but to have a paid employee preach with his life that one's finite existence must be made secure before he can preach with words about the inestimable blessing of seeking first the Kingdom of God-this, indeed, seems to be neither sobriety nor drunkenness.

In such a manner does Kierkegaard make the reader acutely aware of the distinction that Christianity presupposes of its followers, and this in all areas of human life. Serving one end in life by willing one thing is the Christian desideratum, he says, and it is plain enough there is little of the imitation of Christ in this regard beneath the façade of our "Christian culture." "Judge for yourselves!" is the cry. Is the world being transformed

by Christianity, man by God, or has worldliness transformed Christianity, even the definition of what it means to be a Christian? Has not Christendom published abroad a "cheap edition" of what it means to be a follower of the Biblically-named stumbling-block? And, mendaciously seeking to reform the world—shall it be done by abating the price and retrogressing in the truth?

All of these later religious works were directed to making clear what Christianity is in its ideality and what it might effect in the life of a follower who willed to be edified by it. A disjunction had become apparent to Kierkegaard, that between Christianity and Christendom. And it was with profound humility and great misgiving that he turned to attack Christendom and its outstanding representatives in Denmark in the name of Christianity itself. Lest the reader misunderstand the nature of the critique, here translated and printed as an Attack Upon Christendom, one must remember that Kierkegaard did not speak precipitously nor in a vindictive anti-clerical interest. Several earlier items-a review which appeared in 1846 of a novel called The Two Ages and Two Minor Ethico-Religious Treatises of 1848 -give ample indication that Kierkegaard discerned enormous confusions in his age. These little studies (here collected and printed as The Present Age) decry the omnipotence of the crowd's vote in matters of morality and truth, and question the levelling of ideals and requirements to the lowest common denominator. The present age, he says, has become distinctionless; it has lost the meaning of the religious orientation of the Apostle in Romantic concepts of genius and it has lost sight of "personal responsibility" amid a grandiose "public and its principle." These reflections and many more show that the Danish thinker had discovered all kinds of deviations from the ideals by which Christendom supposedly lives. Interpreting Paul, an Apostle to the Gent his beau ing Chri tempora being d called "

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to gi and Chri arat disc to a the Gentiles, in terms of his brilliance and his beautiful use of similes, and construing Christianity in the generalities of contemporary culture—these were due to not being disciplined by what Kierkegaard called "a qualitative dialectic."

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The Attack Upon Christendom is the consequence of a constant preoccupation with and a vigorous application of the Christian ideals to the middle nineteenth century scene. It is a declaration of the state of affairs as one applies a qualitative dialectic, viz., that between Christianity in God's interest and the Church and society as man have made them. To declare that civilization and society are a realization of the ideals when they only approximate—and that badly—and to insist that men witness for the truth when they make a fat living from a calling which ought to bring persecution, this indeed is both a confusion and dishonesty. The Christianity of the New Testament exists no longer, Kierkegaard said from December 1854 until his death late in 1855. He said he wanted a little common human honesty about these high matters. In the ninth "Instant" (ten of these brought the attack and his authorship to a close) he said:

Above all then, let not thyself be deluded by priests. Believe me, or merely look an instant, impartially at the New Testament, and thou wilt see that Christianity did not come into the world in order to assure the priests of a flourishing and agreeable business as their livelihood, and to tranquillize thee in thy natural state; but that, with the renunciation of all things, it came into the world in order by the terms of eternity to tear thee out of the tranquillity in which thou naturally art.

Certainly such thoughts as these ought to give any reader pause; for these articles and pamphlets show the grandeur of Christianity itself to its deniers by separating it from its aberrations, and they disclose the pitiableness of Christendom to all who are proud to be a part of it.

Walter Lowrie, whom we have to thank for so many translations, has recently published a Short Life of Kierkegaard (1942), which will serve as a useful introduction to the Danish author's life. However, it gives ample justification for reflecting upon the relationship of the biographer and the subject. Mr. Lowrie makes short shrift of Kierkegaard's "indirect communication" and endeavors over-confidently to interpret Kierkegaard's disavowal of its use as repentance for ever having used it (cf., pp. 120 and 225). Kierkegaard did not make understanding of himself easy; for as David F. Swenson of the University of Minnesota said again and again, one had to be "teased" by his ideas into commitment and action before one could understand. And then one had to "tease" others, not declaim to them. "Indirect communication" and "pseudonymity" are devices used with reflection and purpose as The Point of View indicates. Mr. Lowrie's certainly candid judgments, though enough, are regrettably made for the reader-one is informed by Lowrie rather directly and in seeming disregard of the implications this might have for a Kierkegaardian. It would seem, too, that Kierkegaard deserves a more consistent treatment in the many prefaces and introductions Mr. Lowrie writes. In his biography, Mr. Lowrie regrets his inability to say more about The Concept of Dread "since it is a work of immense importance." But in the Introduction to the translation of the book itself, where he has the chance to say all he wants to say, we are told about "arid passages" and "over subtle reasoning" and in the Preface, of "slovenly style" and "stretches" which move "pedestrianly." Mr. Lowrie writes so strongly and is so forthright on such matters that one can never forget that Mr. Lowrie has said so and so; and one wishes sometime that there were less overtness which hides Kierkegaard and more "indirect communication" which might reveal him.

Kierkegaard's little declaration of purpose and promise, The Point of View, does with beauty and finality what many an interpretation cannot do. It provides us in the compass of a few pages (103) an explanation of a religious purpose and a disclosure of single-mindedness in an immense and diverse sort of authorship. The entire literature of Denmark's greatest man of letters has an intrinsic meaning: "It means that this is a literary work in which the whole thought is the task of becoming a Christian." (p. 42.)

The following works are reviewed: SÖREN KIERKEGAARD:

The Concept of Dread, translated by Walter Lowrie, Princeton University Press, 1944.

Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life, translated by David F. Swenson, edited by Lillian M. Swenson, Augsburg Press, 1941. The Present Age (including Two Minor Ethico-Religious Treatises), translated by Alexander Dru and W. L., Oxford Press, 1940.

Training in Christianity (includes an edifying discourse, "The Woman That Was a Sinner"), translated by W. L., Princeton, 1944.

For Self-Examination and Judge for Yourselves (includes Three Discourses, 1851), translated by W. L. (the last discourse by D. F. Swenson), Princeton, 1944. (The latter two volumes are offset reproductions of the Oxford editions of 1941.)

The Attack Upon "Christendom," translated by W. L., Princeton, 1944.

The Point of View (includes "Two Notes about the Individual" and "On My Work as an Author"), translated by W. L., Oxford, 1939.

WALTER LOWRIE:

A Short Life of Kierkegaard, Princeton, 1942.

Paul L. Holmer's interest in Kierkegaard was kindled by Professor David F. Swenson at Minnesota University. He is now at Yale University, completing his doctoral work in philosophy



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## Anne Cathrine Bühring

By Tryggve Andersen

Translated from the Norwegian by Eleanor Salberg Williamson

T IS FAR off towards the Swedish

border. On the doorstep in front of a large, old-fashioned house with walls of brown, weathered logs, a young girl sits and sews. Her dress is a plaid linsey-woolsey, cut slightly low in the bust, and she is small and slender of limb, but the bosom is full and high. The throat is long, the chin short and round; the mouth seems smaller than it is, because the lips are thin and their color faint. The nose falls straight and sharp from the high, narrow brow which is hidden on both sides by the reddish blond hair; in spite of careful smoothings, it curls a little at the temples and at the nape of the neck it is wound in a heavy knot. There is something pale and colorless about her, like a child who has wanted sunshine and daylight. She bends her head, and with every stitch she raises her needle and draws the thread cautiously, as if the task were difficult and new to her.

The hall door stands open, and from within the sitting room is heard a slow, mumbling voice; off and on it rises in a cry, then sinks in a whimper. She pays no attention to it; she is so used to this mumble. It is her father who plays solitaire, and then he always talks to himself, for he is not quite right in his head, as Miss Damman, the housekeeper, puts it. He has played solitaire for so many years, has Counsellor Bühring—as long as his daughter can remember. Here they have lived since she was five years old. It was then her mother died, and the Counsellor's mind was unhinged, so he retired and moved to this place. Since then he and Miss Damman and his daughter have lived here, and every day he has played solitaire and talked to himself. She doesn't grasp all he says, but neither does she pay any heed to it, for the housekeeper has said, "He is not well, the poor Counsellor. He no longer knows how to guard his mouth, and often says things a lady shouldn't hear."

The young girl lifts her head and gazes out beyond the crest of the hill, over the bristling blades of grass that sway in the evening breeze, and far down into the valley where the soldiers are exercising on the drill ground. They swarm like tiny insects there below. There is a counter wind and the shouts of command cannot be heard. Farther on the river gleams through the yellowing birches on its banks. Beyond it steep, russet-green, wooded ridges are lifted against the autumn sky, which is tawny in the afterglow of the sunset.

Over the crest of the hill appears the head of a man in a tall busby. The girl starts up.

Then the man's entire figure rises before her in red tunic, gray breeches, and high boots. The light flashes from the sword at his side and the buttons on his cuffs. He pulls his horse after him by the rein, stops, and salutes with his hand to his busby. The young girl does not return his greeting, but rushes into the hall, "Stina, Miss Damman!—Stina, there's a trooper out in the yard!"

From the sitting room the father scolds in a whining tone, "What?—Why is that child clamoring?—It's going well, 'twas the king o' hearts I drew. Why is the girl crying out, I'm asking?"

Next evening the Counsellor is sitting on the sofa and playing solitaire as usual.

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A tallow candle burns in a copper candlestick on the table before him. He is clad in a flowered red robe and slippers and wears a nightcap. At the back of his neck tufts of white hair protrude from under it, but the forehead is bald and shiny. His face is wrinkled and sallow, the one eyelid palsied and can hardly be raised. While he twitches and mumbles with his toothless mouth that droops lax and misshapen to one side, his trembling hands drop the cards, one by one.

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"Spades, nine—oh, yes—jack o' diamonds, no, guess 'twon't go—five o' hearts, ho—goes. Non—cela ne va pas—the ace, see, see!—ga ira, ça ira. —H'm, no, no—" And he whimpers like a baby.

Opposite him sits the daughter busy with her sewing and gives no heed to his talk. Today she has thrown a pink silk kerchief about her shoulders. Through the uncurtained window she gazes out into the twilight.

In the yard walks the trooper, tall and erect, back and forth, back and forth. Miss Damman clatters around in the kitchen and is very busy. The trooper has brought three others in his company and quarters are requisitioned on the place.

"No, no, no-o—won't go, won't go, no-o the queen o' spades on the knave, that damned hussy! H'm! —rien ne va plus—alack-a-day, no-o!" Hopelessly the Counsellor stacks the cards in a heap, looks in drowsy despondency toward his daughter, and makes as if to rise.

"Father, just sit still, Miss Damman will be here now any minute!" Gently she shoves the unresisting old man back on the sofa again, goes to the door, and calls, "Stina! Father's tired and wants to go to bed—"

In comes Miss Damman, glowing from the kitchen warmth and so heavy the floor shakes under her tread. "Oh, dear, dear —I'd almost forgotten the Counsellor, poor man! When one person has so much to do that— Come now, Counsellor." She helps him up, supports him under the arm,

and off they shuffle toward the door. "There's just no depending on the maids any more! God help me, I b'lieve they aren't ashamed of playing sweethearts with the soldiers already—"

The young girl slips out on the hill. She stops beside the trooper and looks searchingly at him. He halts and greets her stiffly with his hand to his busby.

"Why do you salute again now? You have greeted me before today, often," she says. Her voice is uncommonly deep and veiled with a slight huskiness.

He doesn't answer, but laughs in an embarrassed way, and his fist fumbles down his side for a pocket to hide in.

"Are you going to war, trooper?"

"It's war I'm in now, I guess, Miss; and besides my name's not trooper." He chuckles, and she is offended.

"That much I knew before. 'Twas so I named you because I don't know if you're a private or commandant, and Miss Damman says either to use people's right titles or call them something else. What is your name, then?"

He draws himself up at her reprimand and as if at roll call delivers his report, "Iver Tollefsen."

"So you can answer properly? Are you going to war and fight the enemies, and are you a private or commandant?"

He understands what she means, but he finds it unnecessary to inform her about the difference between a corporal and an officer. "It's fighting that's done in war time, I'd say, and with enemies, not friends. As for commandants, I don't know any except those who command fortresses, and here there don't seem to be any walled enclosures except those," and he points toward the walls of the cow barn.

She shrugs her shoulders and flings away from him while he hurries to add, "I'm in command here, though—over the soldiers on this place."

She smiles contemptuously. "Your army has accommodations in the servants' quar-

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r army quarters, that's what it has. You could at least see that our maids are left in peace by that army, since you haven't got a larger one to command," she remarks and saunters off, laughing loudly.

"Satan shiver me, that I'll do, Miss!" sounds feelingly from behind her.

With fierce, firm strides he marches in through the kitchen doorway. In a little while she sees from her window that he sends all his three men packing, down to the stable to the horses, and as she prepares for bed she still hears how he harangues and lords it over them.

The soldiers stayed about a week. Very early every morning before folks got their shoes on, off they rode down to the drill ground and returned again in time for supper. And every evening the young girl went out on the hill and talked with the trooper in his fine, red uniform. They were soon good friends and quite reconciled again. He marched, grave and serious, while she tripped at his side and confided to him all the most momentous happenings of her young life: she had been confirmed last year, and Miss Damman had taught her, because there was such a poor road to the pastor's and she was excused from meeting with him except once or twice before she stood up in church; her uncle lived at Fredriksstad and she was to visit him, but nothing was likely to come of this, since it was such a long and expensive journey, and it was so difficult to make the Counsellor's pension stretch far enough in these hard times when money had so little value.

In the mornings, as she dressed, she dreamed about the trooper: how handsome he was and no doubt as strong as a bear. Once when he was absent all the hours around the clock, because he had watch duty, she lay awake listening for the sound of horse's hoofs until, to Miss Damman's great astonishment, she began to cry and had to explain she had a pain

in her chest—it seemed quite too mortifying to tell truly why she cried.

On a Sunday afternoon Miss Damman delightedly announced that tomorrow they would be quit of the soldiers. The company was to disperse and the soldiers make off.

"The commandant, too?" burst from the girl, and she turned white and began to tremble all at once.

"I do declare, I—" began Miss Damman and stared at her with eyes that were round and amazed.

The girl was embarrassed, ran out of the house and down the hill. There she threw herself down on a clearing and did not stir, while the sun sank behind the hills and shadows spread over valley and woods. Then she wept as if her heart would break.

Over the crest of the hill the trooper walked in full uniform with his sword clanking beside him. At length he caught sight of the prone figure on the clearing and went down. She noticed his coming and dried her eyes, but did not get up. He sat down beside her.

"We march tomorrow, Miss-"

"So I've heard," she answered and gazed disconsolately at a dark red alder right in front of them. They were silent a long time. Anxiously she fingered his sword belt.

"We're going South, they say; there'll be fighting soon."

Suddenly she let go the belt and hid her face in her hands. Tears flowed anew and dropped one by one between her fingers.

"Why do you cry, Miss?" he questioned, his voice scarcely audible.

"Suppose someone should stab you, trooper!" she gasped and leaned against his shoulder quite overcome. He drew her close, tenderly as one lifts a nestling bird and sought to comfort her. "That wouldn't be so easy, dear Miss. I can take care of myself."

Her hands dropped from her face and

in anguish she clasped him round the neck. "Oh, that you're going away, trooper!--"

"It has to be. In the service of the King every man must obey. But I'll surely come back."

"Oh, if only you mean it, oh if only you would!" She pressed closer to him, and he kissed her, and she quivered in his arms.

"And then you'll never leave me. I want to be married to you," she said and kissed him in return.

"Ye-e-s-" he paused with mouth agape. "If that could be—but I s'pose the Counsellor wouldn't want it—"

She smiled gayly. "Pooh, father, he doesn't care, and since he has Miss Damman to stay with him—but you mustn't call me Miss any more. My name is Anne Cathrine, and I am going to call you Iver and you call me Thrine."

"Time enough to worry about that," he remarked, while he glimpsed in one moment's dream all that a corporal can attain in war time: lieutenant and major and Emperor of France. "If you wish it, then I wish it too, you may be sure, but it can't be till the Swedes get peaceful again."

She wanted to know where he was from, and he named the village and told her that his farmstead lay at the foot of Herset Mountain.

"What's it called, your farmstead?" In Iver Tollefsen's thoughts passed a vision of "Peep-out" cottage with its cabbage plot outside, where his old mother pottered about and picked the cabbage heads clean of worms in summer time.

"Look-out," he replied, hesitating a little.

"Is it big?"

"It's not of the biggest-"

"Are the buildings there nicer than here?"

He stared up the slope. "There's a pretty big red-painted barn."

His heart grew lighter when her talk turned to other things and she begged

him to promise truly, truly, that he would come again as soon as peace was made with the Swedes, and never to marry anyone else before that. This he promised and gave his oath upon it, and she kissed him and she cried and she laughed. They heard Miss Damman calling from the house. The girl started to run up the slope, but first he bade her say nothing to Miss Damman till there was peace with the Swedes and he came back.

Next morning in the gray of dawn the dragoons rode away. Out on the hill stood Anne Cathrine and waved her pink silk kerchief while Iver Tollefsen wheeled his horse and saluted her stiffly, his hand to his busby.

The war lasted through another year, and the young girl yearned. The Swedes made peace. She waited, and life was just as uneventful at the Counsellor's in peace time as in war time; never did she hear news of the trooper, nor did anyone appear at the house of whom she might inquire.

In the Yuletide after peace was concluded, Miss Damman dropped on the kitchen floor and died. After this the Counsellor could not thrive; he gave up playing solitaire, and by spring he too was buried.

The pastor looked after Miss Bühring. It was decided that she should journey to her uncle in Fredriksstad. She wept and thought about the trooper, and when she reached the third posting station, it seemed to her that she must find out whether he was dead or alive. She announced that she was going to the neighborhood where he had told her he lived.

On a summer day a hired carriage stopped on the highway below the Herset farmsteads. A young lady with a pink silk kerchief around her shoulders and white satin slippers on her feet inquired of the mowers whether they could tell her about a farm named "Look-out." There was none who knew of it. "It should lie just

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below Herset Mountain and it should have a large, red-painted barn!" Then they understood that it was "Peep-out" she meant and pointed out the road leading there, and the carriage rolled on.

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It was Anne Cathrine Bühring. In expectation of meeting Iver she had decked herself in her best finery: the pink silk kerchief and her mother's white satin slippers, the same she had worn when she was confirmed.

She arrived at "Peep-out," alighted from the carriage, and looked around. Close beside a small, red-painted barn lay a low, gray cottage. No one was in sight, but she could hear somebody chopping wood in the shed. She opened the gate and stepped into the cottage. A tall old woman was sitting by the hearth, and of her the girl asked if Iver Tollefsen was at home. Yes, that he was. The woman stared wonderingly at her, bade her please to sit down, and went out. After a bit a man came in. He wore patched trousers and was in his shirt sleeves, unshaven and very sweaty from the wood chopping.

It was the trooper. She did not sense that the handsome uniform was gone. Here was he for whom she had longed and waited. Sturdy and uncouth he stood, half shy of her, rubbed his hands down his legs in embarrassment, wishing that he had had his Sunday trousers on, while she felt only the urge to put her arms around his neck and thank him because he was alive. But all at once the thought, frightening and chilling, passed through her: Maybe he would have preferred that you had never come. She was unable to speak or move from the spot, while the room swam before her eyes.

Confused, he shifted a foot and stammered, "I thought—I knew here wasn't like you believed—an' besides, things didn't go as I'd hoped in the war, an' I didn't get to be higher'n a corporal—an' so I didn't have the nerve—Can you forgive me that I didn't come back?" he begged, and held out his hand to her.

"Then you wouldn't rather that I'd never come?" she fairly whispered.

"Of course you know, if you want me, just's I am, an' the way I've got things, then I'm going to be as good to you as ever I can be—" He still didn't dare look up; but she grasped his hand, her head whirled, and she threw herself close to him, and sobbed aloud, "Oh, don't be angry with me because I came!"

Gently he held her fast and stammered anew: "How you talk! Of course you know—you see how I'm fixed, if only you want me—" and he was completely at a loss till in a twinkling her arms went round his neck.

The old woman entered. She was Iver's mother. With much beating about the bush he related to her how matters stood. She made little comment, but welcomed the girl with a handshake, went to the hearth, rekindled the fire, and hung the coffee kettle. Now and then her eyes glanced searchingly toward the two young folk.

After nightfall when Anne Cathrine, who was tired from her journey, had gone to bed in the chamber, the woman sat down at her spinning wheel to spin. Iver knew his mother had something on her mind to say but he did not inquire. By and by she remarked that it was probably his intention to marry the young lady; was he sure, though, that all would go so easily; how did he know if her relatives would give their consent?

Iver's spirits sank. Married they were going to be anyway, whether her kinsfolk liked it or not; hesitatingly he questioned her how he should go about to settle with them.

The mother reflected a moment: "You found the horses of the Judge that were lost on the hills last fall," she said. "He'll remember it, and he's both kind to anyone as asks him and has power to help, too. Best you see him tomorrow."

Iver didn't answer. To make off to the Judge's house on such an errand as this

wasn't exactly to Iver's liking. Yes, the Judge was helpful and kind, no doubt about that. But here it was a matter of marriage, and there were all kinds of rumors whispered about the Judge and the womenfolk of his household since he became a widower. Of the housekeepers he had had after his wife's death one had been married off to the Judge's head servant, whom he had helped to lease a farm in the south. For another maid a match had been struck with an artisan, and both the weddings had come off with great haste. So it was hardly to the Judge one cared to turn first when one had marriage in mind.

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Nevertheless Iver went to him and revealed his intentions. The Judge penned a letter to the girl's uncle in Fredriksstad, and as soon as the answer was received, the banns were published and Corporal Iver Tollefsen celebrated his nuptials with Miss Anne Cathrine Bühring.

About a year later it happened that Anne Cathrine sat alone in the cottage rocking a baby and singing to it. Her mother-in-law and Iver were in the field cutting rye; Anne Cathrine had had to leave them and go in to care for the little one. Suddenly a heavily built, gray-haired man came through the doorway. He greeted her with a "Good day" and inquired for the corporal. She stood up and curtsied, for she saw that here was a fine gentleman, and said she would go and fetch Iver. The stranger detained her. "It doesn't matter," said he. "I presume it is Madam Tollefsen I am speaking to?"

Yes, she was Iver's wife.

"And a pretty wife he has got him," observed the stranger, "money, too, in the

bargain. I come with your inheritance after your father which has been sent me to pay you."

He pulled up his wallet and counted out a bundle of bills on the table, but all the while gave more attention to her than to the money. "There, three hundred and twenty rix-dollars. This means real prosperity for the house."

He came closer to her and stared so intently that Anne Cathrine thought she would sink through the floor with bashfulness. Then his hand stroked her reddish blond hair, which curled as it pleased now that Miss Damman no longer smoothed it. He repeated, "Ah, yes, a very pretty wife the corporal has got him—"

Anne Cathrine's eyes welled with tears of fright and embarrassment. She jerked aside, knocked against the cradle, and awakened the child which cried out.

"Ugh, phoo!" growled the stranger.
"Have the two of you already a bawling young one? Give Iver my greetings and turn the money over to him." At the door the gentleman turned and pointed to the child, "Has it been baptized?"

"No, it will be on next church Sunday."

He drew out a ten-dollar bill and laid it on the cradle. "I suppose I'm obliged to leave a sponsor's gift, inasmuch as, in a way, I acted as groomsman," he declared. Then he left, stepped into the carriole that awaited him on the highway, slapped the reins, and drove away.

Iver came home at supper time and was greatly distressed that he had not been on hand when the Judge did them the honor to pay a visit.

Tryggve Andersen was the subject of an essay by Sigrid Undset in the last number of the Review. The story printed here is from his most famous work, I Cancelliradens Dage. It follows the general trend of the book in dealing with the relations between classes, but is almost alone in its idyllic quality.

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## The Norden Society in Sweden

By ÅKE ELMÉR

THE SCANDINAVIAN countries
—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden—constitute a special group of states in the northwestern corner of Europe. Unlike other groups, such as the countries of the



Amer. Swed. News Exchange
Torsten Nothin, Civil Governor of Stockholm, for Many Years President of the
Norden Society

Balkans or Central America, the Northern neighbors do not regard one another as rivals or competitors, but as branches on a common stem. Language and culture are similar enough to place no difficulties in the way of intercourse and yet different enough so that we may speak of separate nationalities. To the outside world this close relationship of independent states is marked by the flags, which all have the same large cross but in different colors.

Even when in times past the Scandinavian countries have been at war with one another, they have not lost the sense

of kinship, and for more than a hundred years now war between them has been unthinkable. Instead, organized attempts have been made at various times to draw them closer together. These efforts were interrupted for a while when Norway in 1905 freed herself from the forced Union with Sweden, but only nine years later the dangers and exigencies of the First World War made evident to all the need for standing together.

Under the stress of world events a group of societies were formed with the special purpose of furthering Scandinavian co-operation. Instead of trying to unite in one association, the promoters agreed on one society in each country, completely independent, but organized along the same lines, with the same purpose, and bearing the same name—Norden. To begin with, such societies were formed in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in 1919. Iceland followed suit in 1922, and Finland in 1924.

The aim of the Norden societies was to further cultural and personal relations by disseminating information about the language and achievements of the neighboring countries, by bringing together professional groups, organizing meetings, courses of study, sightseeing trips, and so on.

Furthermore, the societies made it their business to urge on their governments measures that might promote intercourse. One such step was the abolition of the necessity for passports in travelling from one Scandinavian country to another. Upon the initiative of the Norden societies, delegations were appointed by the governments to study the opportunities for a livelier economic co-operation. One interesting result was to reveal that the Scandinavian countries taken together

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d was een on honor had a volume of trade that placed them fifth in the world: after the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, but before Japan, Italy, and India.

In other fields the societies have themselves carried on research and published their findings. The most important of these was a series of reports on the text books used in teaching history in elementary schools. Experience shows that the attitude of people toward their native land, and toward other countries, is largely determined by what they have been taught as children in school. History teaching has been used deliberately not only for the legitimate purpose of inspiring patriotism but also for inculcating hatred against and suspicion of other countries with which the mother country has been at war, or might in the future get into war.

In the beginning of the thirties a joint committee was formed, and as the next step a separate committee in each country, for the purpose of scrutinizing the text books. It was found that the nationalistic propaganda which had supported the inter-Scandinavian wars in the eighteenth century still colored the books. The findings of the different committees were published and made the basis of discussion. Since then the old books have been revised, and the new books that have been published since then have been written from a more liberal viewpoint. One cannot, of course, expect that ingrown mental attitudes will change overnight, but in the long run this work will surely have great significance.\*

In this connection it might be asked whether similar investigations would not benefit the relations between other countries as well. There are many unnecessary misunderstandings and suspicions between closely related countries that are traceable to the old-fashioned, nationalistic teach-

ing of history in the schools. To mention only one example, the account of the American War of Independence is, it may be presumed, treated very differently in England and America, and this cannot but have its effect on the relations between the two countries.

During the Second World War the work of the Norden societies was rendered very difficult by the different status of the various countries. Iceland has been occupied by the United States, Norway and Denmark invaded by Germany; Sweden has been neutral, and Finland for a time even the ally of Germany. Yet the societies continued their work, each in its own country, with the exception of Norway where the German terror made it impossible. In Sweden the Norden society has even had a great expansion of its activity and has tripled its membership. Whereas formerly the work was largely confined to academic and professional circles, efforts have been made to break out of this isolation and extend it to other groups. At present Norden is co-operating both with the workingmen's and the employers' organizations as well as with the various cultural and ideological societies that are so characteristic of the Scandinavian countries.

Not only that, but the old limitation of activity to cultural and economic problems has been abandoned, and the Norden society has entered the political field. At present there is a discussion as to the possibilities for political union of the Scandinavian countries in some kind of federation. The Swedish Norden society has not committed itself on this question, and will not do so while the question of world organization is in the balance. But the society has declared its purpose of so cultivating the sense of belonging together that, if a political union should be found practicable, and if the other countries agree, such a union should seem a natural step in the development.

The present activities of the Swedish Norden society may be briefly described. know langue considerate consid

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<sup>\*</sup> An account of this work, briefly summarizing the findings of the committees, was given in an article entitled "Rewriting History" by the Editor of the Review, which appeared in our number for June, 1938.

Stress is laid chiefly on promoting knowledge of the Danish and Norwegian languages, for even though they are not considered actually foreign, they differ enough from Swedish to require some instruction if they are to be read with pleasure. The society has therefore engaged a number of native Norwegian and Danish teachers who give courses to future teachers in Swedish schools and also travel around to the schools and lecture to the students. This work is supplemented by correspondence courses.

The society publishes its own periodical, Nordens tidning, which is sent free to members. In addition pamphlets are issued dealing with Scandinavian problems, and articles are sent to the daily press. The society uses its influence to promote the sale of Danish and Norwegian books in the original instead of having them translated into Swedish.

As a service to the numerous popular societies in Sweden, Norden sends out lecturers on Danish and Norwegian history and geography. Leaders of popular movements, especially the youth movements, are assembled for courses where the organized Scandinavian co-operation is explained. As soon as the war is over

local conferences will be held along the borders for discussion of conditions during the war and of post-war tasks and opportunities in the years to come.

During the war the work of the Swedish Norden society has been social and humanitarian to a greater extent than before. Hundreds of thousands of fugitives from Nazism have found a refuge in Sweden, and the Norden society has regarded it as its particular mission to render aid to fugitives from the Scandinavian countries. It has tried to make their enforced stay in Sweden as tolerable as possible and at the same time to make them acquainted with the country in which untoward circumstances have cast them, thereby creating points of contact for future collaboration.

After the war Sweden, with its resources comparatively intact, must use them to rebuild what the Germans have razed in the three nearest countries. In this work the Norden society will of course assist with all the means in its power. The work of rebuilding will be a common Scandinavian task, and there are excellent prospects that the economic collaboration thus initiated will be continued in normal times.

Ake Elmér is managing director of the Swedish Norden Society

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# THE QUARTER'S HISTORY



THE LIBERATION OF DENMARK, on May 5, 1945, marks the end of one of the most dramatic and eventful weeks in human history. From East and West, from North and South the victorious Allied and

Russian Armies were crushing the remainder of Germany to a pulp. Mussolini had been executed, Hitler had been killed together with Göbbels and other henchmen. Over one million German troops in Northern Italy had surrendered unconditionally, Berlin had been captured by the Red Armies, and at 6.25 P.M., Friday, May 4, all German forces on the British-Canadian front in northern Europe-including Holland and Denmark -surrendered unconditionally to Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery. The surrender took place in a small tent on the Lüneburg Heath near Montgomery's "house on wheels," as a driving rain beat against the canvas. The German representatives signed, and Montgomery left the tent, saying with a broad grin to a group of war correspondents, "This is the moment."

It was the moment that climaxed Montgomery's brilliant campaign against the German Wehrmacht across the deserts of Africa, across France, and finally into the very heart of the Third Reich. The Germans had pledged themselves to lay down their arms at 8 A.M. the following morning, and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, General Dwight Eisenhower, issued a statement in Paris saying, "On land and sea and in the air the Germans are thoroughly whipped."

THE JUBILANT NEWS was broadcast to Copenhagen at 8.30 P.M., Friday. Some-

one in one of the great newspaper offices sprang to a window and screamed the message out over the Raadhusplads. It spread like wildfire. Cheering thousands danced in the streets, kissed and hugged each other. All over town Danish and Allied flags appeared as if by magic, while the crowds shouted for joy, singing their national anthem and British and American war songs from this war and from the First World War. Suddenly from nowhere there was a shout, "To Amalienborg!" King Christian, who is now almost seventy-five years old, had retired-probably tired out after the hectic days that had preceded the German surrender. An adjutant, however, appeared in front of the palace and said, "You must remember, the King has been ill and is not quite a youth any more. He has just gone to bed. But he has asked me to tell you that this is the happiest day of his life and that he is deeply moved by the fact that your first thought has been to come here to demonstrate your feelings. And when I now ask you to go home, you hear the King's wish. I know you won't act against it."

THE CAREFUL PREPARATIONS that had been made by the Danish Freedom Council in co-operation with the King and the political parties enabled events to move smoothly and fast. The King called on former Prime Minister Vilhelm Buhl, asked him to form the new Cabinet, and gave the order to mobilize the Danish Underground, putting an estimated 300,000 men under arms in the capital alone. They appeared everywhere, carrying tommy guns and other arms, mostly of British and American make.

The members of the Danish Resistance Movement began patrolling the streets early Saturday morning, May 5, wearing a blue armb comme cil in ceed pecto actio an ellyno take was be l

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a blue uniform with red, white, and blue armbands and steel helmets. The arrest committee of the Danish Freedom Council immediately ordered its forces to proceed with the summary arrest of suspected collaborators or those who by their actions had angered the populace to such an extent that there was reason to fear lynching. The people were urged not to take the law into their own hands, and it was added that anyone disobeying would be held responsible for his actions.

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In a broadcast the Freedom Council stated that those arrested "will at once be interned under safe conditions. Persons who for some reason or other feel menaced by the anger of the populace are urgently asked to report to police posts for protection. Arbitrary sentence and punishment will not be meted out." It was further declared that those who have sinned against the Danish community during the occupation will be punished according to law, and that the new Government under Prime Minister Buhl was preparing stern but just treatment of all war criminals without personal considerations.

Later reports from Copenhagen state that one of the first laws under consideration by the new Government is the re-introduction of capital punishment, which had been abolished during the peaceful years before the occupation.

The Patriots have arrested some ten thousand German sympathizers according to carefully prepared lists drawn up by the regular Danish police and the Resistance Movement. The New York Times correspondent; George Axelson, reported from Copenhagen that he saw many truckloads of such suspects being carried off for interrogation and detention pending trial. Among the prominent Danes that were reported arrested as pro-Nazis were the General Director of the Danish State Railroads, Peter Knutzon, the Managing Director of the Danish Oil Mills, Hr.

Juncker, and the former Danish High Commissioner to Danzig, Helmer Rosting.

FIGHTING BROKE OUT at several places in Copenhagen between Danish Patriots and the Hipo-Hilfspolizei-which had been organized by the German occupation authorities. The Hipo corps allied themselves with German SS troops in defense of their headquarters, and the fighting resulted in several casualties. On the German cruisers Prinz Eugen and Nüremberg the crews opened fire when Patriot forces boarded the ships in the harbor to disarm and intern the men. Several districts of Copenhagen were hit by shells from the antiaircraft guns and other automatic weapons, and scores of Patriots were killed. A German shell exploded over Amalienborg Palace, and fragments landed in the court chamberlain's office, but fortunately nobody was hurt.

In the early morning hours the news of the liberation was pealed out over the land by the Danish church bells, while the Danish Radio, resuming normal operations, broadcast programs of thanksgiving.

Violent shooting broke out in one of Copenhagen's German barracks during the morning hours, when Wehrmacht soldiers decided to settle accounts with the hated SS troops. The Wehrmacht soldiers were said to have been aided by Danish Freedom Fighters, and serious fighting was reported in the vicinity of the Royal Palace. Later in the day, when the British troops were landed from a fleet of huge transport planes at the airport of Copenhagen, fighting broke out at the Raadhusplads, where some German soldiers awaiting evacuation thought they were being attacked.

GENERAL EISENHOWER broadcast a message addressed to the Danish Resistance Movement, announcing the hour of Denmark's liberation and paying tribute to

the valor of the Resistance forces. The message read in part: "In the pursuit of my authorization as Supreme Allied Commander, I am responsible for the execution of all measures necessary for the successful completion of my duties. I, therefore, announce that I have recognized Lieutenant General Ebbe Görtz (the Commanding General of the Danish Army) as Commander of the Danish Resistance Movement under my direct command.

"Men of the Danish Resistance Movement, I expect you strictly to obey the orders of your Commander, who has my fullest confidence. Avoid all clashes with the beaten enemy. Each and every one of you must help in keeping public order and must await quietly the arrival of Allied troops."

KING CHRISTIAN, speaking over the radio in a firm voice that sounded remarkably strong and youthful, thanked the leaders of the Resistance Movement, expressing his joy that the oppressive years of German occupation were over and his happiness that "we are once again able to raise our ancient flag." Prime Minister Vilhelm Buhl also went to the microphone. He promised to take firm and stern action against the collaborators, urged order, and "with deep thankfulness" paid tribute to the "victorious powers, to the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, who have now given Denmark back her independence."

PRIME MINISTER BUHL, immediately after the liberation, submitted for His Majesty's approval a coalition Cabinet consisting of eighteen members—half of whom represent the old political parties, while the other half represent the Danish Resistance Movement which during the occupation was co-ordinated under the Danish Freedom Council. The Cabinet—a coalition Government which will function until general elections can be held—

consists of the following members: Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christmas Möller, former chairman of the Conservative Party and Minister of Commerce, who during the war has been head of the Free Danish Movement and the Danish Council in London; Minister Abroad without portfolio, His Excellency Henrik Kauffmann, Danish Minister to Washington: Minister of Finance, Hans Christian Hansen, Social Democrat; Minister of Commerce, Vilhelm Fibiger, Conservative; Minister of Defense, Ole Björn Kraft, Conservative, and very active in the Resistance Movement; Minister of Labor, H. Hedtoft Hansen, Social Democrat; Minister of Public Works, Karl Pedersen, Social Democrat; Minister of the Interior, Knud Kristensen, Social Democrat; Minister of Agriculture, Erik Eriksen, Social Democrat; Minister of Education, A. M. Hansen, Radical Left; Minister of Church Affairs, Arne Sörensen, Chairman of the Danish Coalition Party which gained many votes at the election in 1943, one of the leaders of the Danish Resistance Movement, and publisher for the late Kaj Munk and other Patriot writers. Professor Mogens Fog has been made Minister of Special Affairs. He represents the Danish Resistance Movement, and has during part of the occupation been imprisoned as hostage in the Gestapo headquarters in the Shell House in Copenhagen. He was liberated by the R.A.F. bombardment of the Shell building on March 21, 1945. Also of the Resistance Movement is the new Minister of Justice, N. Busch-Jensen, while the Minister of Communications, Alfred Jensen, belongs to the Communist Party. The new Minister of Traffic is N. A. Jansen, while the Communist Axel Larsen, who was forced to leave the country during the occupation, with Frode Jensen and Juel Christensen of the Danish Coalition Party-Arne Sörensen's party-have been made Ministers without Portfolio.

This new Government is the result of

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close co-operation between the political parties and the Danish Patriots. Prime Minister Buhl resigned in 1942 under German pressure, in protest against the German interference in Danish affairs and the brutality practised on his compatriots. He was replaced by Eric Scavenius, who in turn resigned on August 29, 1943, when the Germans declared martial law for all of Denmark, and the Danish Underground began open sabotage and partisan warfare against the Germans. The resignation of the Scavenius Government, however, was never accepted by King Christian, as he considered himself a prisoner of the Germans and therefore unable to act. Since that day and until May 5, Denmark has been without a Government at home or abroad. The people have with great discipline maintained order among themselves, while Denmark's interests abroad have been represented by Danish diplomats and Danish Councils and Committees who have gathered around Minister Kauffmann in Washington and Count Eduard Reventlow in London. In the fall of 1944 the Soviet Union asked the Danish Freedom Council to send a representative to Moscow and accepted Th. Dössing, Director of the Danish State Libraries, with diplomatic rank as representative for Fighting Denmark.

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On Sunday, May 6—the second day of the liberation—street fighting subsided somewhat in the Danish capital, but the Patriots continued the roundup of Danish Nazis and collaborators. Over four hundred were arrested, besides one hundred German Gestapo agents who had barricaded themselves in their former head-quarters. They capitulated Sunday, and the Patriots immediately raised the Danish flag over the building. They freed the Danish prisoners held by the Gestapo, marched off the German guards, and put arrested Danish Nazis into the cells. Huge crowds watched the departing Germans

with silent hatred, cheered the liberated Patriots, and greeted the quislings with cries of, "Death to the Hipo!"

Never in the eight hundred years of Copenhagen's history has the Danish capital seen such joyous and enthusiastic celebrations as when the British and American troops arrived and landed on the airfields. Human emotions broke all restraints when the troops arrived and drove to the center of the town through flag-decked streets and under a deluge of flowers. It is reported that most of the British soldiers lost their "Montgomery berets" after attempting a parade through Strøget (the main street of Copenhagen leading from the Raadhusplads to Kongens Nytorv). Instead of walking, the Tommies found themselves riding on the shoulders of the populace. And while German snipers began shooting at the American soldiers when they arrived, the welcome given them by the Danes was no less hearty than that accorded the British.

In Copenhagen 65 Danes were killed in clashes with the Germans and many others were killed in fights between Patriots and traitors all over the country. Six disguised SS troopers were liquidated by the Danish Patriots as they attempted to kill the chief of the Allied Military Mission in Denmark, Major General R. H. Dewing. The general conferred Sunday with King Christian and with Lieutenant General Ebbe Görtz.

In a speech over the Danish Radio Major General Dewing said in part that, on behalf of General Eisenhower and Field Marshal Montgomery, he wanted to thank the Danish people for the welcome they had given to the first Allied troops to enter Denmark. "In this welcome," he said, "I recognize a manifestation of the deep gratitude of the Danish people for the long and bloody struggle which American, British, and Russian forces have now brought to success against the Germans. At the same time, I wish

to express the admiration and deep appreciation felt by the American and British peoples-as, I am sure, by the Russian people-for the magnificent fight which you have put up against the German oppressors."

General Dewing furthermore requested that the Danes refrain from contact with enemy forces withdrawing southward under Allied orders, and he announced that "German troops will be marching across the Danish frontier, southward, in the next few days." The withdrawal of German forces from Denmark began at once. The New York Times correspondent in Copenhagen, Svend Carstensen-who was the first to report the German invasion of Denmark in 1940 and the first to report the joyous reaction to the liberationsaid that the evacuation order affected some 300,000 Germans who must leave the country in the shortest order possible. Besides the aforementioned there were some 350,000 German refugees in Denmark whom it would not be possible to deport before German communications had been sufficiently repaired.

General Dewing complimented the efficient organization of the Danish Underground forces. "When we came here I was uncertain what I would run into as far as the conditions here were concerned. I am only too pleased to say that the Danish Patriots had the situation per-

fectly under control."

DURING THE LAST QUARTER before the liberation of Denmark, the Danish Resistance Movement continued the fight against the Germans in close harmony with the Allies. The saboteurs concentrated their attacks on the Danish railroads-not only the longitudinal lines used by the Germans to transport troops and supplies between Norway and Germany, but also the inter-connecting side lines, in order to make it impossible for the Germans to detour the trains when the main line was blown up. Even the

special train used by the former German Commander in Denmark, General Lindemann, was derailed and blown up. The General escaped alive, but got so furious that he burned down several farms in the vicinity of the attack. On March 5 this year, special communiqué No. 6 was issued by SHAEF according to an order from General Eisenhower, praising the Danes for their sabotage. Not one single train was arriving on time from the North, said the communiqué, and this had a direct influence on the warfare on the East and West Fronts.

To help the Danish Patriots R.A.F. fliers on March 21 attacked Gestapo headquarters in the Shell House in Copenhagen, freeing many Danish saboteurs, killing hundreds of Gestapo agents and Danish Nazis, and destroying records that were a great danger for the Underground. And on April 17 the Gestapo Headquarters in Odense on the island of Fyen was also liquidated.

The Danish Freedom Council reports that during the German occupation of Denmark, which lasted five years and twenty-five days, the Danish Underground contributed the following in the fight against the common enemy: Four thousand acts of internal sabotage against German-controlled war industries and communications; destruction of millions of dollars worth of Danish property vital to the enemy's war economy; one thousand lives lost in resistance to the German SS Elite Guard terror; 112 Danes executed by the Germans and thousands deported to German concentration camps. Mass support has been given the Danish-Allied espionage network inside Denmark; and fifteen thousand Danish volunteers have been serving in the Allied fighting forces and in the United Nations' merchant marines.

The Associated Press writes: "Once described as a pampered protectorate, Denmark turned out to be one of Hitler's many the p Himn the m men i under ering wellshutt and : cision

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many painful disappointments. It was the place where Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler's plans were often foiled. In the midst of 1,200 German plain-clothes men in Copenhagen, the Danes directed underground warfare without even bothering to move their headquarters from a well-known street. Their traffic experts shuttled information between Denmark and nearby Sweden with peacetime precision."

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KING GUSTAV OF SWEDEN ON May 5 sent messages of congratulation to King Christian of Denmark and Queen Wilhelmina of Holland on the liberation of their countries. He expressed the joy of the whole Swedish nation in the liberation of Denmark and added that "flags are flying over thousands of homes in Sweden in tribute to our steadfast brothers across the Öresund."

Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew said on the liberation of Denmark: "The surrender in the field of the German forces in Denmark heralds the restoration of freedom to a gallant and heroic people. Despite the total occupation of their country by the Nazi forces, the Danish patriots both at home and abroad never ceased to resist with every means at their disposal.

"Danish saboteurs successfully carried out hundreds of perilous missions. Scores of Danish vessels manned by Danish seamen carried vitally needed cargoes to the war zones. Through the provision of bases in Greenland, the Danes materially aided in keeping open the North Atlantic sea lanes. Today the Dannebrog, the ancient flag of Denmark, again flies freely over a free people. The American people rejoice in the restoration of Denmark's independence."

The majority leader of the Senate, Alben W. Barkley, said in San Francisco: "Less than a month after Denmark has passed the fifth anniversary of her

enslavement to Nazi Germany, comes the thrilling news of her liberation. This is a day of homecoming for Denmark to the family of free nations. I feel I must add my 'Welcome Home!' in tribute to a nation which was unconquered, a people which is unconquerable by the forces of tyranny. This is a great day for the Danes. It is also a great day for Americans who have fought with Danes and for Danes toward this goal. All power to gallant Denmark—to its patriots, soldiers, workers, and all its people who have shown the nation's stamina by helping earn their own independence."

Two Notes of Sadness have been struck in Denmark in all the happiness and rejoicing over the liberation. One was that the German surrender to Montgomery did not include Norway, which, however, followed very soon, so Norway too gained the freedom for which she had fought so bravely and so long.

The other note of sadness was the irony of fate that President Roosevelt, who more than anybody else was responsible for America's tremendous contribution to the liberation of all the formerly occupied countries in Europe, was not permitted to live and see the final victory. In answer to a condolence note to Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, the Danish Minister in Washington has received an answer which says in part, "Denmark was very near to the heart of President Roosevelt, and he had a profound admiration for the courageous struggle of its people against the German invader."

It Is Expected that Denmark after her liberation will in short order become a full fledged member of the United Nations—something substantially more than "Allied in all but name." The Danish people are eagerly awaiting the opportunity to participate in the United Nations' work for peace and security in the world, once the final victory has been won.



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THE FIRST POPULAR ELECTION for the Presidency of Iceland was scheduled for May this year. It will not take place. The three political parties declared that they would support the re-election of President Sveinn Björns-

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son, who was elected for one year on June 17, 1944. The Communist Party declared that it would not contest the election, so President Björnsson is elected by unanimous consent for four years, to serve until July 1949.

THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT made the deepest impression in Iceland. All Icelanders felt it as a personal loss to Iceland that he should be called away, for his great mind seemed to encompass even the smallest nation and impress it with his personal interest in its welfare. His gesture of inviting the President of Iceland to an official visit before the Republic was three months old was deeply appreciated by everybody. The Bishop of Iceland officiated at a memorial service in the Cathedral of Reykjavik held in English and Icelandic.

In the Last Quarter's History it was mentioned that after the loss of the Godafoss only one passenger ship was plying between Iceland and the United States. In the middle of February this ship, the S.S. Dettifoss, was torpedoed with the loss of twelve members of the crew and three passengers. The trickle of passengers coming in during the last months was therefore at a complete standstill. Apart from the loss of the Dettifoss, a number of smaller ships have been lost this winter due to other reasons than the war.

After protracted negotiations the Air Transport Command agreed to transport twenty passengers a month until June 30 from the United States to Iceland, greatly relieving the transport difficulties. The fare from Presque Isle, Maine, is \$508.30 including tax.

ICELANDERS WERE DISAPPOINTED that they were not invited to the San Francisco Conference. It seems that Iceland together with some other neutrals would receive an invitation, if it declared before March 1 that a state of war existed between Iceland and Germany. Such a state does exist, insofar as Germany, in 1941, declared Iceland and its waters a war zone, and has repeatedly infringed on Icelandic neutrality by attacking Icelandic ships with neutrality signs and shot and bombed Icelandic territory.

But Iceland declared itself perennially neutral in 1918, and this declaration was embodied in a Constitutional Act after the fashion prevailing at that time. Icelandic legislators did not wish to annul this declaration, inasmuch as they regarded Germany as defeated by Allied might, and a change in the status of Iceland now would be only an empty gesture, whereas Iceland had before and since the beginning of the war shown in innumerable ways its friendship for the Allies.

The International Labor Office sent a representative to Iceland to discuss the matter of Iceland joining the I.L.O. A declaration by the Althing empowered the Government to do so.

THE ICELANDIC-BRITISH TRADE AGREE-MENT has been prolonged for another year from March 8 with very slight alterations. Icelanders were expecting that, with the cessation of hostilities, the British would be able to fish enough for their own needs, but it seems that refurnishing the fishing fleet will take considerable time, so they will not have any surplus of fish this year.

A CULTURAL WORK of great importance to Iceland has been quietly finished in Copenhagen during the war. It is the publi garde tasks scien gan i has p the e Worl photo fore mate has l ed, s in ex 1:10 first out o the Pro the vise Inst has min

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ap Fo publishing of maps of Iceland. This is regarded as completing one of the greatest tasks ever undertaken by Danish men of science. The triangulation of Iceland began in 1900, and since then the field work has proceeded every year until 1939 with the exception of the years of the First World War. The interior was surveyed photographically in the last summers before the outbreak of the war and all the material had been collected. Since then it has been worked out and the maps printed, so that all of Iceland is now available in extremely accurate maps in a scale of 1:100,000. The accuracy is, of course, of first importance, but the colors and lavout of the maps are also so satisfying that the maps are objects of great beauty. Professor N. E. Nörlund, the director of the Geodetic Institute, who has supervised this great work entrusted to his Institute by the Icelandic Government, has published a book to celebrate the termination of this task telling the story of the cartography of Iceland, and of this last survey.

ART IS ENJOYING A BOOM in Iceland. The most popular painter is Johannes Kjarval. He recently exhibited his paintings from last summer. Every one of these was sold within half an hour after the exhibition had opened its doors, bringing in a sum of about \$30,000. The Althing in its last session put aside funds for building an honorary residence for him. This honor has only been bestowed on one Icelander before, the sculptor Einar Jonsson.

A young painter who has been studying in the United States, Örlygur Sigurdsson, has had a similar success, for all his paintings and all his drawings with the exception of one were sold at a recent exhibition in Reykjavik.

GENERAL EARLY E. W. DUNCAN was appointed Commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Iceland in December last to suc-

ceed General William S. Key, who had been commander for over two years. Whereas the policy of the U.S. Army Commander in Iceland in the beginning was to segregate the army from the population as far as possible, General Key revised this policy to some extent, and with great success.

After General Key took over, he had regular lectures for the troops, both by some very able liaison officers, and also by prominent Icelanders, on divers aspects of the history and culture of Iceland. Since then not a single unpleasant incident has taken place between Icelanders and the United States troops.

The troops stationed there give an extremely fertile field for the talents of tellers of tall tales, many of which have been published in the United States as serious observations, though they were never meant to be taken for anything but humorous stories.



ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER of the German armies and the surrender of the enemy forces in Norway, thereby ending the war in Europe, was received by the Norwegian people throughout the now

liberated country with manifestations of joy and thanksgiving after a life of more than five years under Nazi tyranny.

News of the ending of a veritable nightmare of enemy occupation was first received in Oslo. From the capital it spread rapidly to all parts of the country, thanks to the efficiently functioning patriot underground forces working in close collaboration with the lawful Norwegian Government in London. The fearless, never wavering activity of the national patriot forces in defiance of concentration camps and death is a shining bright chapter of the occupation period.

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The formal surrender of all German troops in Norway took place at Lillehammer on the evening of May 8. Fearing an Allied invasion, the Germans had recently moved their headquarters from Oslo to Lillehammer, but this eleventh hour precaution proved to be of no avail. The surrender documents were signed by Major General Frantz Böhme and Major General Holte, in behalf of Germany, and by Brigadier General R. Hilton, of the Allied Control Commission, in behalf of the Allies.

The German commanders in Norway had long threatened to stage a desperate finish fight along the strongly fortified 1,100 mile Norwegian coast and in the mountain fastnesses of the interior. With the complete collapse of Germany and its former powerful war machine, however, the enemy decided to throw up the sponge. Thus many precious Norwegian lives were spared and widespread destruction of additional material values avoided.

Norway's liberation was joyfully signalized by the ringing of church bells in all parts of the country. Once more the national flag of Norway waved freely and proudly over a liberated nation.

AN ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION, headed by the above mentioned Brigadier General Hilton, arrived by air at Fornebu airport, near Oslo, on May 8. Soon thereafter a fleet of Allied warships arrived in Oslo harbor. In London on May 8 Crown Prince Olav, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of all Norwegian military forces, spoke over the radio, placing all Norwegian forces at the disposal of the Allies during the period in Norway immediately following the German surrender. On May 13 the Crown Prince arrived in Oslo with three Cabinet Ministers. Trygve Lie, Foreign Minister, and Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting, flew from San Francisco for Oslo.

Additional members of the Government in Exile started for Oslo for the purpose of setting up a provisional government to administer civilian affairs until a parliamentary election can be arranged. King Haakon was preparing to depart for Norway as soon as the military situation permitted. In Norway it was hoped that the King would be enabled to arrive in Oslo on the national holiday, May 17. Great liberation festivities were in preparation for that anniversary of the adoption of Norway's free, democratic Constitution of 1814. This year the day has double significance.

In Oslo on V-E Day, as well as in all other parts of the country, the people were jubilant but orderly. Quiet dignity and good order prevailed everywhere. The only untoward incident in Oslo was a skirmish between two Norwegians and an inebriated German sailor. The German tossed a hand grenade at some home-front soldiers. The German was killed.

No Sooner Had Norway's Liberation been announced than all political and other prisoners of the Germans were released, the greater number from Oslo jails and from concentration camps. From the notorious concentration camp at Grini, near Oslo, 1,200 prisoners were liberated, among them Dr. Stoltenberg, Supreme Court Counsellor Löken, and Arbitration Commissioner Clausen.

The Norwegian Telegram Bureau at Stockholm reported via the Royal Norwegian Information Service in Washington that all Norwegian political prisoners in Germany had been ordered liberated. This had been accomplished through the co-operation of the Swedish Red Cross. Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold, in behalf of the Norwegian Government in London, sent a telegram of thanks to the Swedish Red Cross and to Count Folke Bernadotte for their great services in arranging transportation to Sweden of Norwegian political prisoners in Germany.

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH dated Oslo, May 9—the first direct free news

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report from Norway in more than five years—reported that the Nazi puppet premier and arch-traitor Vidkun Quisling had been jailed by the Norwegians and locked up in a common cell in the Oslo jail known as "Möllergaten 19." It was the same sort of cell to which he had consigned numerous of his victims during the years of the German occupation. His protest that as a "statesman" he deserved more considerate treatment went coldly unheeded. The man whose name has given the English language a new synonym for "traitor" was given a dose of his own medicine.

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Quisling was arrested at his luxurious suburban villa, Gimle, at Bygdöy, and was driven by guards in his bombproof automobile to the police station flanking the jail. It was also reported that he had voluntarily surrendered, but this appears to be an error in view of a report that he had been frustrated in an attempt to flee to Sweden.

Six members of his so-called Cabinet surrendered and were incarcerated in the same jail with Quisling. Members of the home front forces rounded up more than four hundred of Quisling's followers throughout the city. Quisling, who is fifty-seven years old, was ordered arraigned immediately under Norwegian law, which requires arraignment not more than twenty-four hours after arrest. The charge to be placed against him was not immediately announced.

The same news dispatch reported that Reichskommissar Josef Terboven and SS Lieutenant General Rediess, chief of the German police in Norway, had committed suicide by shooting themselves.

Free newspapers have again resumed publication in Norway and civil administration by Norwegians has been set up in all parts of the country. Norwegian troops under Colonel A. D. Dahl, who fought their way south in Finmark province, from the point where troops of the Red Army liberated the farthest northeastern part of

that province, had crossed into Troms province at the time of Norway's complete liberation.

ALL REPORTS to the Government in London during April indicated that the Germans were making preparations for a last desperate stand in Norway. Heavy guns and other war materials were brought in and ammunition was constantly being received by air from Germany. It was reported also that a number of high ranking German officials had flown to Norway, ostensibly for the purpose of participating in a last-ditch defense of the country as a German fortress against the feared Allied invasion.

Most of these men were reported to be Gestapo officials, whose mission in Norway was to bolster German morale in the face of imminent collapse of military resistance in Germany. There was evidence during the quarter of a weakening of common soldier morale, but nothing to indicate complete dissolution of the German occupying forces.

Several German craft, with their crews, sailed into Swedish ports requesting internment. A report in the latter part of April told of a Lieutenant Colonel Schiritch, German commander at Halden since 1942, who, together with his staff, rowed across the Iddefjord to Sweden and surrendered to the Swedish police. These were isolated cases. The "dyed-in-thewool" Nazis were in complete control everywhere.

Large numbers of Gestapo and SS men from countries formerly occupied by Germany comprised some of the most ardent supporters of a final struggle in Norway, including the carrying into effect of the scorched earth policy equal to the destruction wrought in the far northern province of Finmark.

According to Figures compiled by the Norwegian Government in London there were between 150,000 and 200,000 Germans in Norway in the latter part of April. Despite sabotage the enemy succeeded, during the seven months after the end of the war in Finland, in transporting between 130,000 and 150,000 troops from north Finland and Norway to Germany.

THE WIDESPREAD SABOTAGE activities of the home-front patriots against the plans of the Germans, particularly their extensive breakdown of transportation facilities, destruction of rails, blowing up of bridges and setting fire to warehouses containing German supplies, contributed greatly to the hindering of enemy troop movements in the interior and along the coast. The destruction served effectually to bottle up the enemy and render the troops immobile.

THE FEVERISH DEFENSE ACTIVITY of the German enemy during the last few months lent credence to the belief that total German evacuation from Norway was not a part of enemy strategy. German military construction during February, March, and April continued undiminished regardless of the increasing hopelessness of the situation in Germany.

In the latter part of April over 300 workers were engaged in building new piers and docks in Sandbukta, near Oslo, and a new spur was under construction to connect the shipping point with the main line of the Vestfold Railway. On the Oslo Fjord, near the capital, German surveyors were at work on plans for the construction of new German naval facilities. Most of the fleet of German submarines was based in Norway.

Intensified military construction in the city of Oslo gave the capital the appearance of a city under siege. Bunkers and street barricades were built, especially in the vicinity of the City Hall. Two of the main streets near by were completely barricaded at all times. "Dragon teeth" defenses were planted throughout the entire city, especially around the main tele-

graph building and the Cappelen building, the latter serving as headquarters of the Todt organization. Gestapo headquarters in Victoria Terrasse were surrounded by blockaded streets and concrete breastworks which were patrolled by double watches of guards armed with machine guns. All German motor transports passing through the city were accompanied by armed escorts.

THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT in London discussed with the Swedish Government early in April the possibility of Swedish armed intervention in Norway with a view to aiding the Norwegians in preventing as far as possible destruction by the threatened Nazi "scorched earth" policy during the last phase of the battle for Norway's liberation.

The Norwegian Government made it clear that Swedish intervention was not to be considered as war, but as neighborly assistance in the nature of a police function. The Swedish volunteer group organized for such duty was considered inadequate for the job.

The Swedish Government on April 27 referred the request to the Riksdag, which on that day met in secret session. The decision was to continue the Government's policy of "watchful waiting" rather than commit Sweden to armed action at once. The suddenness of the German crack-up fortunately made such aid unnecessary.

THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT came as a severe shock to the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people in and out of Norway, in fact to Norwegians everywhere on land and sea throughout the world. No statesman was more highly esteemed by Norwegians than Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By action and by word he had time and again proved that he was a true friend of Norway.

Immediately in the early hours when the whole world was shaken with sorrow, way
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King Haakon, in three telegrams sent to Mrs. Roosevelt, President Truman, and the American Ambassador Lithgow Osborne, gave sincere expression to Norway's loss in President Roosevelt's death.

Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold wrote the following message, reproduced here in part: "It is with deep sorrow that the Norwegian Government has learned of the great loss sustained by the American people and all the United Nations through the sudden death of President Roosevelt. For the Norwegian people, President Roosevelt will remain one of the greatest statesmen of our time; one of those who led the United Nations to victory, and who by his practical idealism was one of the architects of a new and better world. . . . Democratic forces of the world have lost one of their greatest, wisest, and most clearsighted leaders. The best way to honor his memory is to continue the work to which he consecrated his life until he fell. The best monument to this great American will be a world which lives in peace and freedom."

Norway Is the only Scandinavian country represented at the United Nations' Conference on International Organization in San Francisco. That historic event in the affairs of mankind is mentioned here because of its global character and the fact that the lawful Norwegian Government in London is fully represented by a strong delegation.

It is obviously too early at this writing to present details of the Conference proceedings and of the part played therein by the delegates of Norway. A recapitulation of that record must necessarily await developments and the conclusion of the Conference. Meanwhile we present the names of the Norwegian delegation:

Minister of Foreign Affairs Trygve Lie, chief of the delegation; Carl J. Hambro, President of the Storting; Wilhelm de Munthe Morgenstierne, Ambassador of

Norway to the United States: Dr. Arnold Ræstad; Professor Jacob Worm-Müller; Dr. Arne Ording; Andres Fjeldstad, former chief of the Department of Agriculture. The following served as official advisers: Major General William Steffens; Consul Lars Christensen; Mrs. Karl Evang, M.D., wife of the Director of Norway's Public Health Service; Ingvald Haugen, President of the United Norwegian Seamen's Association; L. J. Jörstad, Counsellor of Embassy; Mrs. Aase Gruda Skard, A.M. Mr. Hans Olav, Counsellor of Embassy and Director of the Royal Norwegian Information Service in the United States, was in charge of public relations in behalf of the delegation, including press releases. He was assisted by Sven N. Oftedal of Montreal, Canada.



News of the Liberation first of Denmark and then of Norway brought to Sweden a sense of joyous relief that could hardly have been greater if Sweden itself had been at war. The country has endured five years of iso-

lation, with shortages and strictures of all kinds, in constant apprehension of being drawn into the war, bearing almost unendurable economic burdens for defense and to meet the demands of charity. The end of the war in Europe means that Sweden can again return to normal living and developing its resources for peace instead of war.

But uppermost in all minds was relief that the long agony of Denmark and Norway was ended. Thousands of Stockholm students in their white caps staged a mass meeting in front of the Norwegian Legation, and throughout the country enthusiastic homage was paid to Norway's brave resistance. Radiotjänst (the official Swedish Broadcasting Service) started a drive

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for a liberty gift to Norway, and in a few hours over half a million kronor had been subscribed.

At the peace monument at Charlottenberg on the Swedish-Norwegian border, commemorating the peaceful dissolution of the Union, several thousand Swedes and Norwegians met to celebrate the peace. Many families were once more reunited. Ivar Vennerström, Governor of Värmland, spoke for Norway.

On the evening of May 8 the eighty-seven-year-old monarch of Sweden, King Gustaf V, spoke over the radio. He thanked his people for helping to preserve peace in spite of difficulties. He congratulated Denmark and Norway and expressed a wish for blessings on the future of Scandinavia. Finally he thanked the great nations which had brought about the liberation, wishing them happiness and success. Congratulatory messages from institutions, organizations, and from private individuals almost choked the telegraph and telephone service to Denmark and Norway.

The people in southern Sweden, which in peace time is especially close to Denmark in friendly intercourse, almost went wild with joy. An immense bonfire at Hälsingborg was a means of greeting the people of Elsinore across the Sound at its narrowest point. At the same time the young Danish men who have been trained in police duties in Sweden crossed on the ferry to their own country.

THE EXTENT OF OFFICIAL AID from Sweden to the brother nations was revealed with the coming of peace. The "illegal" traffic between Sweden and Denmark had been aided by the police in Malmö. The Danish patriots in Sweden, who were organized under the leadership of a newspaper man, Ebbe Munck, every day received handwritten or printed news sheets, which were transported in small boats or smuggled on the ferry. The volume of the "illegal" mail transported by

the Swedish authorities was greater than that which was openly sent.

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Immediately after the liberation the newspapers in Stockholm printed interviews with the leaders of the Norwegian Underground, revealing the methods by which news had been conveyed to the outside world while books, newspapers, radios, even arms and money had been smuggled into Norway. Not only the Swedish people living in the border regions but the official Swedish guards helped to fool the Germans and promote the work of the Norwegian couriers. Even the military were active in aiding the Norwegians who wanted to escape into Sweden, Governor Vennerström revealed in his speech at the peace monument. But all has not yet been told regarding this

FOREIGN MINISTER Christian E. Guenther, in a speech at the Concert House in Stockholm, May 4, said that Sweden's future foreign policy must continue to avoid all Great Power alliances and to keep up a strong national defense in order to promote future peace in the best possible way. "Of course it is impossible for us to build up a defense system strong enough to resist attack by the Great Powers, but it is our purpose to keep our defenses strong enough so that Sweden will not be considered by any foreign power as a military vacuum or as capable of being used by an enemy as a route of attack. This is not intended as an argument in favor of continued isolation or a cold national egotism. No nation is more eager than Sweden to co-operate with all others to secure peace. If the new League of Nations can be organized, Sweden will certainly not miss a chance to join or try to avoid any of the obligations entailed, not even if they should infringe on its sovereignty.

"Sweden expects that concrete results will be attained at the San Francisco Conference," the Foreign Minister went on, "and that at least preliminary steps will be taken toward a permanent peace union. The previous experience, however, makes the world skeptical. One cannot expect miracles. It cannot be denied, for instance, that the start and the course pursued so far lend support to skepticism. The question of what countries were to participate was settled with regard to the ephemeral circumstances of the day's political situation rather than with consideration for the will and ability of the nations invited to further the high purpose of the Conference."

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This part of the Foreign Minister's speech was clearly a reference to the fact that Sweden was not invited to the San Francisco Conference—in spite of Sweden's honorable record in the late League of Nations.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S DEATH WAS deeply mourned in Sweden. The Labor paper, Morgon-Tidningen, summed up the country's feeling in these words: "All the democratic nations are in mourning, but they are grateful that President Roosevelt lived long enough to help the forces of freedom conquer tyranny and inhumanity. . . . The memory of President Roosevelt is spurring the nation on to fresh efforts. The whole world responds to his last speech regarding the peace and the safe-guarding of it. His stressing that doubt, fear, and ignorance must be conquered was the expression of something very fundamental, the most important task of democracy." The Liberal Dagens Nyheter declared that "Roosevelt's political eye was almost infallible. He had to judge how far principles would have to be sacrificed . . . and so far all has gone well, but the decisive stage remains. It would be foolish, however, to regard the future as lost." In an editorial, the Conservative Svenska Dagbladet wrote: "Roosevelt did not shun any personal sacrifices in order to further the task for which he considered himself responsible. His death is a hard blow to everyone who realizes that the active participation of the United States in the organizing of the peace is the one indispensable guarantee of its permanency and justness. He constituted in his person the pledge of the American people in its new attitude of internationalism as demonstrated in the 1944 elections."

Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf and five other members of the Swedish royal family attended a memorial service for President Roosevelt at the Swedish Cathedral, Storkyrkan, in Stockholm. Five members of the Swedish Cabinet were also present together with court officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and of the American colony. In the crowded church the Bishop of Stockholm, Manfred Björkquist, gave thanks to God "for His servant, President Roosevelt, who had borne heavy burdens and, in a hard and difficult time, had become the beloved father of his country." Services were also held in the English churches in both Stockholm and Gothenburg. In Stockholm the lessons were read by the American and British Ministers, Herschel V. Johnson and Sir Victor Mallet. King Gustaf sent telegrams of condolence to President Truman and to Mrs. Roosevelt, while Prime Minister Hansson sent a message to the new President.

A New Swedish Minister to the United States was appointed on April 27, to succeed Wollmar F. Boström, who retires this year. He is Herman Eriksson. Born in Uppsala in 1892, he became head of the Royal Board of Trade in 1936 and from 1938 to 1939 served as Minister without Portfolio. During the following two years he held the post of Minister of Supply. From 1941 until September 30, 1944, he was Minister of Commerce, and was then made head of the Swedish Liquor Monopoly. Minister Boström has held his present post since 1925.

AMERICA'S FIRST SOCIAL WELFARE ATTACHÉ to Sweden, Richard A. Forsythe, of Detroit, Michigan, arrived in Sweden in the beginning of March to take up his duties at the United States Legation in Stockholm. Two of the great powers now include social welfare attachés in their diplomatic representation in Sweden, the British having appointed Norman Lamming in 1943. The duties of these representatives are to keep their respective governments informed of the developments of social progress and legislation in Sweden and to follow social and economic trends in general.

ABOUT 20,000 HUNGARIAN JEWS WERE saved by the efforts of members of the Swedish Legation in Budapest, the Swedish Minister to Hungary, C. I. Danielsson, reported in a press interview at the Foreign Office on April 20. The Minister, together with thirteen members of his staff, returned to Stockholm on April 18, having travelled from Budapest via Russia. He expressed extreme concern over the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, who had been appointed to the Legation to head the work of rescuing Jews in Hungary when they were faced with a renewed threat of deportation, after King Gustaf's appeal in June last year had brought a few months' respite. Jews who had any connection with Sweden whatsoever were given, as far as possible, Swedish "protective passports." Wallenberg had a staff of 300 under him, mostly volunteers, and they managed to harbor in houses in Budapest, for which diplomatic immunity had been granted, twice as many Jews as the 5,000 actually allowed. They set up three hospitals with soup kitchens, ran a truck service, and laid up large stocks of food, thanks to the co-operation of Hungarian civilians. At the end of December, Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross men plundered the food depots. On Christmas Eve all Wallenberg's staff were arrested, the women members being interned in the

ghetto, but all managed to escape. Arrow Cross men broke into the Legation to kill the Minister, who, however, escaped. In a pitched battle, with the support of Hungarian police, Wallenberg and some attachés recaptured the Legation and drove out the Arrow Cross men. The German military refused to give any aid. Wallenberg had risked his life many times to rescue Jews, Minister Danielsson said. He once prevented a Nazi patrol from sending a group of protected Jews to forced labor, telling the Nazis they would do so only over his dead body. Another time he overtook a deportation train at the frontier and managed to save eleven Jews. Legation attachés gave horrifying accounts of the Jews' death march to Vienna, and told how Wallenberg managed by bluff and cunning to save numbers of Jews, insisting that they belonged to groups protected by Sweden. He has not been heard of since January 17.

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Over 16,000 Prisoners of war from twenty-four different nations arrived in Sweden within a few days in the beginning of May, mostly via the southern city of Malmö. The influx came as a result of a large scale action on the part of the Swedish Red Cross to rescue thousands of Norwegians, Danes, and women of various nationalities from Nazi prisons and internment camps. Count Folke Bernadotte, vice president of the Swedish Red Cross, arranged for the transfer.

Quarters were prepared in museums, schools, and dance halls. Hundreds of Scandinavian doctors were working twenty-four hours a day in order to give a careful medical examination to all the arrivals, who received a complete set of new clothes, their old garments being burned. Swedish Red Cross officials who returned from a tour of German prison camps reported that no Norwegian Jews were found there and of 734 who were deported to concentration camps in Germany only seven were accounted for.

Nothing was definitely learned of the fate of 1,200 Norwegian officers who were interned at Stutthof, near Danzig. A contingent of 350 Norwegian policemen and some Norwegian women were said to be interned on the peninsula of Hela, also near Danzig.

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ng no n vs Many prominent Norwegians arrived in Sweden in the first few days of May. Among them were Professor Didrik Arup Seip, President of Oslo University, and his wife; Odd Nansen, son of the explorer Fridtjof Nansen; Arnulf Överland, poet; Harald Schwensen, actor; Arne Björn Hansen and Wilhelm Klaveness, ship owners, and the former chief of police of Oslo, Kristian Welhaven. The last mentioned immediately proceeded to London.

A BILL FOR THE FINANCING of further Swedish credits and gift shipments to the war ravaged countries of Europe was placed before the Riksdag on March 7 by Ernst Wigforss, Minister of Finance. The total sum required to cover such activities from the beginning of the war up to the end of the next budget year (June 30, 1946) will be 2,500,000,000 kronor. Approximately a billion kronor have already been allotted, over 400,000,000 kronor of this sum being for gifts, and the rest for reconstruction credits to foreign governments for goods and materials to be supplied by Sweden as soon as it is possible to ship them.

TORGNY SEGERSTEDT, militant and fearless editor of the Liberal Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning, of Gothenburg, died on March 31. Flags all over the city and ships lying in the port were flown at half mast on April 4, when he was buried. In addition to the usual floral tributes wreaths were sent by the American Legation and Minister Johnson, as well as by other Allied legations, the Norwegian Underground, and several Norwegian and Danish organizations in Sweden. Obituaries in the Stockholm press paid homage to Segerstedt's striking individualism and dauntless honesty. The Liberal Svenska Morgonbladet observed that he made Handelstidningen the most personal daily in the country, and added that Segerstedt will be remembered as Sweden's most persistent and passionate fighter against Nazism. The Labor evening paper, Aftontidningen, wrote, "The luxury he allowed himself of expressing his own opinions became in 1940-1941 a vital daily need of the Swedish people. . . . The safety valve provided by Handelstidningen was necessary if the Swedish neutrality machine were not to explode," Otto Järte, political editor of the chief Conservative organ, Svenska Dagbladet, wrote, "His brilliant fight against tendencies towards censorship are his best memorial." This, Järte said, is gratefully acknowledged by all Swedish newspaper men who have been able to deploy freely on a field where Segerstedt provided the most reliable flank protection during the critical years.

THE HIGHEST EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER deaths since 1887 was registered in 1944. There were 133,167 births, an increase of 8,200 over the previous year; 71,147 persons died in 1944, as against 65,799 in 1943. Excess of births was therefore 62,020. The number of marriages was 63,450, as compared with 61,589 in 1943.

## SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA

#### Books for Norwegian Libraries

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The German invasion cut off Norway's intellectual life from the Western world. No American books or book lists reached the libraries any more, and the American periodicals discontinued their Norwegian subscriptions.

In recent years the Norwegian Government, with the assistance of friends of Norway in the United States, has succeeded in filling most of these war time lacunas. Lists of more than 300 American periodicals which were subscribed to by Norwegian state libraries before the war were brought out of the occupied country. The Norwegian Embassy in Washington subscribed for them again and also managed to build up almost complete back files. The Advisory Committee on Industry of the Norwegian Government subscribed to about 80 additional periodicals in technology on behalf of Norwegian industrial concerns. All these periodicals are now stored in Brooklyn for transportation.

In 1944 American Friends of Norway granted \$10,000 for the purchase of a standard collection of American books published since 1940 which could be brought into Norway immediately upon the termination of hostilities as a first orientation in American scholarly work during the war years. By an additional grant from the Norwegian Government the amount was brought up to \$12,000. The list of books was compiled under the direction of Dr. Sigmund Skard by almost forty American scholars and learned institutions volunteering their services; the collection comprises 3,078 books from all branches of learning except medicine and military science. The books were purchased and stored for transportation in Brooklyn. The Norwegian Government continues to purchase books for individual libraries.

The book list has been mimeographed and stockpiled, and will be taken into Norway in great numbers together with the books. Copies have also been offered to the governments of other occupied nations, and the list is being widely distributed by the Office of War Information in Washington.

#### Study Swedish

A Summer School for Swedish Studies on a more ambitious scale than anything that has been attempted before will be held in Chicago for eight weeks, from June 25 to August 17. It is sponsored jointly by Augustana College and North Park College and will be held on the campus of the latter, which has made class rooms and dormitories available.

The courses are extremely practical. Emphasis will be laid on learning Swedish, using the plan known as the Intensive Language Program organized by the American Council of Learned Societies and used for specialized training in the army. It has been adapted to Swedish by Mr. Einar R. Ryden of the University of Minnesota, who will direct the language study together with Dean Arthur Wald of Augustana, and Professor Martin Söderbeck of North Park College.

There will also be lectures on various cultural subjects, such as history, social legislation, education, art, and music. All the instruction will be on a college level, and pupils can earn college credits, although there is also an opportunity for adults who wish to pursue the studies without striving for college credits.

For particulars and terms write to Dean Arthur Wald, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

#### A Scandinavian Symphony Orchestra

The Scandinavian Symphony Orchestra of Detroit is a volunteer organization whose members are inspired by a genuine love of music. It began in the early thirties as a double quartet under the leadership of Mr. Maurice Sörensen. Its first

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6 ( public performance was given in the Danish Brotherhood Temple, February 18, 1931, and admission was free. Since then it has grown and developed. There are now eighty players or more, and the concerts draw audiences of fifteen hundred. None of the players except the conductor receives pay.

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The expenses are met in part by membership fees and in part by generous contributions. The admission prices are kept very low. The orchestra plays some Scandinavian music, but does not confine itself to that. The president of the organization is Mr. Kai Rasmussen, the conductor is Mr. Eduard Werner. Sometimes the orchestra has been able to invite a distinguished guest conductor, as last March when Dr. Howard Hanson, Director of the Eastman School of Music, took the baton for a concert which included music by Svendsen, Howard Hanson, Sibelius, and others.

#### The Hospital Ship St. Olaf

Bearing the name of Norway's patron saint, the United States Army Hospital Ship St. Olaf serves in the mercy fleet, returning sick and wounded military personnel to the United States. Originally built as a Liberty ship, the St. Olaf was christened by Crown Princess Märtha on April 12, 1942. Two years later the ship was converted into a gleaming white hospital ship with large red crosses and the green bands that signify her latest mission.

The St. Olaf is now an ultra modern floating hospital with a total capacity of 591 patients. It has a medical complement of 17 doctors, 39 nurses, and 154 enlisted men specially trained as medical attendants. Everything is done for the convenience and comfort of the patients. The best of fresh food is supplied, and motion pictures, books, music, and games help to pass the time. In the first four months of its service the St. Olaf returned 1,700 patients from the battlefields of Europe.

#### Upsala Chair Established

As mentioned before, Upsala College in East Orange, New Jersey, under the leadership of its energetic young president, Dr. Evald B. Lawson, has been campaigning for a fund to establish a chair in Swedish. The sum set was \$100,000, and this has now been oversubscribed. With the consent of King Gustaf, the professorship is to bear his name. It is the first permanently endowed chair in Swedish in the United States. An additional \$15,000 is sought to furnish a Swedish room in the contemplated new classroom building.

Dean Frans Ericsson, who has taught Swedish at the college for more than thirty years, has been named the first Gustav V professor. In addition, the Trustees hope to have visiting professors occasionally teach at Upsala.

#### Books for Denmark

In December 1943 the Review published in this column a notice about a movement to collect scholarly and scientific books and periodicals for the learned institutions of Denmark. The American-Scandinavian Foundation is one of the sponsors of the undertaking. Professor Harald Ingholt of Yale University is chairman of the committee.

Now that Denmark is liberated and there will soon be an opportunity of sending over the material collected, it is matter for congratulation that the work has gone so well. It has been in two categories: to assemble the publications that would normally have been received by Danish libraries in exchange and to collect funds and buy those that formerly would have been acquired by purchase.

The committee has requested about 650 different exchange publications, most of which have been received and stored. Space has been given by the School of Medicine at Yale University. Another 450 periodicals and serial publications have been purchased in varying numbers.

To date the committee has collected about \$10,000, which has been enough to cover the acquisition of periodicals, and this work is now finished. An additional \$15,000 is estimated to be required for the purchase of books. Contributions can be made out to "Books for the Colleges of Denmark" and addressed to the treasurer, Mr. Knud Engelsted, Riverside, Connecticut, or to Professor Harald Ingholt, Yale University.

#### Church Men Visit Europe

Dr. P. O. Bersell, president of the Augustana Synod, headed a Lutheran Church Commission of three members representing the National Lutheran Council, which returned late in April from a six weeks' visit for the purpose of studying the opportunities for relief and rehabilitation of the churches in the wartorn countries. The other members of the Commission were Dr. Ralph H. Long, executive director of the National Lutheran Council with headquarters in New York, and Dr. Lorenz B. Meyer. Upon their arrival in Stockholm in the middle of March they were received by Archbishop Erling Eidem, who expressed a wish to visit the United States when the centenary of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America is to be celebrated in 1948. Dr. Bersell, after his return spoke of the crying need in Europe and emphasized the necessity for the Lutheran churches to present a united front and at the same time to co-operate with other churches.

#### A Swedish Exhibition

Under the joint auspices of the American Swedish News Exchange and the Architectural League of New York an exhibition was held in the quarters of the latter, at 115 East Fortieth Street, showing Swedish Architecture and Industrial

Art in the last five years. As it was, of course, impossible to bring over the actual objects of applied art, these as well as the architecture were represented by photographs, about 300 of which had been recently received from Sweden and carefully mounted. They included textiles, furniture, glass, and ceramics. The general impression was one of simplicity, lightness, and grace.

The architectural exhibits showed city planning, for which Sweden is famous, garden colonies, and collective housing.

#### Award to Gunnar Myrdal

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social economist, was selected by the Carnegie Corporation to make a study of the Negro Problem. He embodied the result of his investigation in a large two-volume work entitled An American Dilemma. The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, which was published in 1944 by Harpers. This work has now been awarded one half of the Anisfield-Wolf Prize for the best book on race relations to appear in 1944. The prize, which is \$2,000, was divided between Dr. Myrdal and Gwethalyn Graham, author of Earth and High Heaven.

#### Mr. Lundbeck Honored

Mr. G. Hilmer Lundbeck, Trustee and vice-president of the Foundation, resigned as president of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in the United States after more than twenty years of service and was elected honorary president at the thirty-ninth annual luncheon held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, on March 20. Mr. Nils R. Johaneson, also a Trustee of the Foundation, who has been vice-president of the Chamber since 1938, was elected to succeed Mr. Lundbeck as president.

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# THE AMERICAN SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION

For better intellectual relations between the American and Scandinavian peoples, by means of an exchange of students, publications, and a Bureau of Information

ESTABLISHED BY NIELS POULSON, IN 1911

Trustees: Henry Goddard Leach, President; John A. Gade, William Hovgaard, G. Hilmer Lundbeck, Harold C. Urey, Vice Presidents; Hans Christian Sonne, Treasurer; Conrad Bergendoff, Robert Woods Bliss, E. A. Cappelen-Smith, James Creese, Harold S. Deming, Lincoln Ellsworth, Halldor Hermannsson, Hamilton Holt, Edwin O. Holter, George N. Jeppson, Nils R. Johaneson, A. Sonnin Krebs, William W. Lawrence, John M. Morehead, John Dyneley Prince, Charles J. Rhoads, Georg Unger Vetlesen, Thomas J. Watson, Harald M. Westergaard. Cooperating Bodies: Sweden—Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen, Grevturegatan 16, Stockholm, J. S. Edström, President; Chancellor Undén, Kommerserådet Enström, and Professor Svedberg, Vice Presidents; Adèle Heilborn, Secretary; Denmark—Damarks Amerikanske Selskab, Frederiksholms Kanal 20, Copenhagen K, Viggo Carstensen, President; Helge Petersen, H. C. Möller, Vice Presidents; Tage Langebæk, Treasurer; Norway—Norge-Amerika Fondet, Radhusgaten 23 B, Oslo, C. J. Hambro, President; Arne Kildal, Secretary; Iceland—Islenzk-Ameriska Félagid, Reykjavik, Sigurdur Nordal, President; Ragnar Olafsson, Secretary. Associates: All who are in sympathy with the aims of the Foundation are invited to become Associates. Regular Associates, paying \$3.00 annually, receive the Review. Sustaining Associates, paying \$10.00 annually, receive the Review and Classics. Life Associates, paying \$200.00 once for all, receive all publications.

#### Trustees' Meeting

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The Trustees of the Foundation held their spring meeting in the Harvard Club of New York City on May 5. Among those present were Trustees from Worcester, Massachusetts, Wilmington, Delaware, and Rock Island, Illinois, and the following guests: Minister Henrik Kauffmann of Denmark, Minister Wollmar F. Boström of Sweden, Consul General Helgi P. Briem of Iceland, Consul General Martin Kastengren of Sweden, Dr. James J. Robbins of the Office of War Information, and Professor Robert Herndon Fife, Chairman of the Publications Council.

The news that Denmark had been liberated and that announcement of Norway's liberation was expected soon made this meeting a historic one. The President extended the congratulations of the Board to the King of Denmark and the Danish people. Minister Kauffmann characterized May 5, 1945, as the happiest day in the life of all Danes since April 9, 1940. Referring to the difficulties of his own position during these years as minister extraordinary without a government, he expressed his gratitude for the help he received from the late President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roose-

velt, and his administration, and from his Scandinavian colleagues. The liberty of Norway means just as much to the Danes as that of their own country, the Minister said, and in the difficult years to come the ties between the Scandinavian countries will be stronger than ever; Denmark and Norway are brother nations as never before, and both are grateful to Sweden for what she has done and for what they know she will continue to do.

Minister Boström expressed his deep satisfaction at the good news from Denmark and Norway. In view of his return to Sweden after almost twenty years as Minister to the United States, he took this opportunity to thank the President and the Board for the work of the Foundation in furthering intellectual relations between Sweden and the United States and congratulated the President on the award of an honorary degree from Uppsala University.

The President, reviewing current activities and plans for the future, mentioned that Danmarks Amerikanske Selskab has established an office in Copenhagen in charge of Mrs. Annette Dalgas Jerrild, daughter of Professor Hovgaard, and that the architectural exhibit "Amer-

ica Builds" is ready to be shown in Denmark and Norway. He announced that arrangements are being made to send Professor Kenneth Ballard Murdock of Harvard University abroad from January to June 1946 to lecture on American literature and thought in Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian universities.

#### Dr. Leach Honored by Uppsala University

The President of the Foundation, Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, was awarded an honorary doctorate by the philosophical faculty of Uppsala University in May. Dr. Leach was the only foreigner to receive an honorary degree in connection with the celebration of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the rebirth of Uppsala University in 1595.

#### Fellows

Mr. Peter Coyet, Honorary Fellow from Sweden, who studied industrial organization at Columbia University on a stipend from the Swedish House of Nobles, returned home on the International Red Cross ship *Mangalore*, which arrived in Gothenburg on May 1.

Mr. Larus Jakobsson, Honorary Fellow from Iceland for the study of banking, returned home in April to resume his position in the National Bank of Iceland.

Mr. Björn Johannesson, Honorary Fellow from Iceland, completed his work for the doctorate in soil chemistry at Cornell University and returned to Reykjavik by aëroplane in April.

Mr. Halldor Petursson, Honorary Fellow from Iceland for the study of drawing and painting, has been awarded one of the J. and E. R. Pennell purchase prizes by the Library of Congress for a lithograph entitled "Fighting Horses."

#### Former Fellows

Mr. Tell Dahllöf, Fellow from Sweden 1939-40 for the study of journalism, now manager of the Swedish-American News Exchange in Stockholm, has described in the May number of The American Swedish Monthly the training in Sweden of 9,500 Norwegian "police" for duty in Norway.

Professor Alrik Gustafson of the University of Minnesota, Fellow to Sweden 1927-28, has been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship to write a biography of August Strindberg.

Mr. Åke Sandler, Honorary Fellow from Sweden 1941-42, returned to the United States in March after a year spent mainly in Sweden and Finland, where he acted as correspondent for the New York Times.

Miss Elisabeth McK. Scott, Fellow to Sweden in 1924 for the study of language and literature, now director of the New York Legislative Service, has established two summer camps in the foothills of the White Mountains at Broadview Farms, Pittsfield, New Hampshire, one a kindergarten camp for children from four to seven, the other a modern camp for boys and girls between seven and twelve. Mrs. Arnold Vas Dias, who has organized the "Little Peoples' School" on West 12th Street, is in charge of the younger group, a Wellesley graduate of the older, and the staff includes specialists in agriculture, carpentry, and handicrafts.

Dr. Harry Söderman, University Fellow from Sweden 1933-34, who studied the science of criminal investigations in this country, has assisted in the training of Norwegian police in Sweden. One of the "main streets" in the Norwegian camp at Johannesberg, near Stockholm, is named Söderman Vei in his honor.

Dr. N. M. Ylvisaker, Fellow to Norway 1923-24, has, as director of the Service Commission of the National Lutheran Council since 1941, been responsible for the most extensive war work now being carried on by any church denomination. In 1938 Dr. Ylvisaker was elected president of the Chaplains' Association of the Army and Navy of the United States, which now includes approximately 10,000

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chaplains of all denominations. He has been re-elected for four successive terms and has been appointed by the official staff of the Chaplains' Association president for the duration. A Service Prayer Book compiled and edited by Dr. Ylvisaker in 1940 has since then been printed in approximately one million copies.

#### C. H. Thordarson Dead

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Mr. Chester H. Thordarson, an old friend of the Foundation and for several years Icelandic member of the Foundation's American Advisory Committee, died in Chicago on February 6 at the age of eighty-eight. Mr. Thordarson came to the United States from Iceland in 1873 and in 1895 founded one of the first plants in this country for the manufacture of electric transformers. He was well known both here and abroad for his large collection of books, including many rare works on the physical and natural sciences.

#### Upsala College

Upsala College in East Orange, New Jersey, has become an Institutional Life Associate of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. This is a form of co-operation which is highly stimulating to the work of the Foundation.

Among the recipients of degrees at Commencement was the President of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, who was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws.

#### American-Scandinavian Forum

Mr. Gunnar Bjäreby, Boston artist, addressed the Forum on February 23 at Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University, and exhibited a number of water colors and sketches made during two study trips in Scandinavia. Miss Célestine Wihlborg, accompanied by Miss Agnes Olson, played several selections on the violin.

On March 30 the president of the

Foundation, Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, gave an illustrated lecture entitled "To Swedish Lapland." The lecture was followed by a reception for Dr. Leach.

On April 27 Mr. Benedikt Gröndal, Junior Scholar of the Foundation from Iceland, spoke on "Iceland Today."

#### Augustana Chapter

Kaj Munk, the late Danish author, pastor, and patriot, was the subject about which the March 19 meeting of the Augustana Chapter was centered. Professor Ernest Nielsen of Grand View College, Des Moines, Iowa, who is a visiting professor at Augustana College this year, gave a biographical account of the heroic martyr to the Nazis together with a brief history of his literary work.

Miss Marian Odell, instructor in dramatics at Augustana College, presented a part of the Munk drama, Niels Ebbesen, which was performed in full on May 11 by an all-college cast. An international note was added to the meeting through several vocal selections in the Greek tongue by Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Dalber of Moline, Illinois.

It was announced that the Swedish "Save the Children" campaign in this area had collected \$850 to date.

#### California Chapter

At the annual meeting of the California Chapter held at the Claremont Hotel on February 9 the following officers were elected for 1945: Professor T. H. Goodspeed, president; Mrs. Adolf Pabst, first vice-president; Mr. Carl Fridén, second vice-president; Professor Sturla Einarsson, third vice-president; Mr. Olaf Lundberg, secretary; Mr. F. Y. Ahlm, treasurer; Dr. Julie Vinter-Hansen, memberat-large of the Executive Committee. Consul Axel C. F. Sporon-Fiedler of Denmark was guest of honor. Mr. Allen C. Blaisdell, director of International House, Berkeley, spoke on education for peace.

President Goodspeed announced that through the generosity of Mr. Carl M. Fridén and Mr. F. O. Fernström the sum of \$12,500 had been raised towards the establishment of a Chair of Scandinavian languages and literature at the University of California in Berkeley for a three-year trial period. (This sum has since been increased to \$15,000 by a gift of \$2,500 from Mr. J. P. Seeburg.) The president read a letter from the Vice-President and Provost of the University, Mr. Monroe Deutsch, in which it was stated that while no assurance could be given that after the trial period the work would continue, it was hoped that arrangements could be made so that a permanent chair could be provided. It is hoped that instruction may be started with the academic year 1945-46, but owing to war conditions this may not be possible.

The California Chapter is to be congratulated on the successful result of many years of effort to establish a Scandinavian chair in Berkeley. Mr. Olaf Lundberg informed the members of the part their president had taken in making the final arrangements, and Professor Brodeur mentioned three persons whose zeal and devotion have contributed much: Miss Knudsen, Mr. Alfred Nelson, and Mr. Eric Frisell.

The announcement of the death on April 29 of one of the donors, Mr. Carl M. Fridén, has been received with profound regret. Born in Alvesta, Sweden, in 1891, Mr. Fridén came to the United States in 1916. A mechanical engineer, formerly with the Swedish match trust, he invented a calculating machine and formed the company bearing his name at San Leandro, California.

#### Chicago Chapter

The Chicago Chapter invited members and friends to a tea followed by a showing of Scandinavian films in the Woodrow Wilson Meeting Room of the International Relations Center on March 22. The films shown were Wind from the West—A Tale of Lapland, Wings for Norway, and Colorful Sweden.

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On April 10 the Chapter gave a luncheon in honor of Arne Skouen, Norwegian author, and Robert Stærmose, member of the Danish Parliament, in the Crystal Room of the Sherman Hotel. Both Mr. Skouen and Mr. Stærmose have taken active parts in the resistance movements in their respective countries. Mr. Skouen, playwright, novelist, and newspaperman, known by his pseudonym Björn Stallare, lived under German occupation in Norway for more than three years. Active in the underground press, he ran a regular column in the official free Norwegian newspaper in London, his articles being smuggled to England each week. In October of last year, after living underground to avoid capture by the Germans, Mr. Stærmose, educator and leader of his political party, Dansk Samling, escaped in a fishing boat from Denmark to England.

#### New York Chapter

The New York Chapter held a Spring Festival with a program of Folk Dancing at Sherry's on April 6. The guests of honor were Mme. Boström, wife of Minister Wollmar F. Boström of Sweden, Consul General and Mme. Georg Bech of Denmark, Consul General and Mme. Rolf Christensen of Norway, Consul General and Mme. Martin Kastengren of Sweden, and Consul General and Mme. Helgi Briem of Iceland.



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The Long Journey. By Johannes V. Jensen. Translated from the Danish by A. G. Chater. With an Introduction by Francis Hackett. *Knopf.* 1945. Price \$3.50.

The publishers call this a "Nobel Prize Edition," and it is to be hoped that the glamour of the Nobel Prize will lure more Americans to read this remarkable work by Denmark's greatest living creative writer. The edition is a triumph of book-making: the six volumes of the original treated as three bound in one, printed on paper which though not too flimsy makes it possible to include the whole in one easily handled volume at a reasonable price. It is reprinted from the first complete English edition, of 1933, and for a summary of the work I cannot do better than repeat what I wrote then.

The Long Journey tells the story of the Northern races, not as they developed into nations at home, but as they went out to seek new homes or adventures, when they intertwined their own sturdy fiber with other races and set their stamp on distant countries. The story is told in a series of flashes, each revealing one of those primitive heroes who, by some feat or achievement or invention, advanced the race perhaps a thousand years. There is Fyr who steals fire from a volcano. Then Carl, the ancestor of the Scandinavians, learns to conquer the cold and live on the ice. He loses an eye in a fight with a bear and becomes the prototype of Odin. His descendant, White Bear, invents the wheel and becomes the prototype of Thor with his chariot. He also invents the ship. His son Wolf tames the horse. He marries a slant-eyed girl south of the Baltic and becomes the ancestor of the people on the steppes.

Some of the Northerners recross the Baltic to Sweden, where the cradle of the race stood, and we find them in Sjælland, then in Jutland. From Himmerland in Jutland the ill-fated Cimbrians went out as the vanguard of the Migration of Nations, only to be almost annihilated by the Roman legions under Marius. Yet some survived, though only as thralls or gladiators. And they had opened the gates for others of their race. The Northern blood entered into a union with that of the Mediterranean peoples, and something of the restless longing of the North was reborn in Columbus, a descendant of the Langobards, a born sailor, a blue-eyed, red-haired giant. In the Northern immigrants who have tilled the prairies and penetrated to the Pacific coast the author sees the latest expression of the same racial longIt is impossible in a review even to suggest the extraordinary richness of this book. The story of humanity is wonderfully intertwined with that of nature. The author's imagination plays with geological epochs and world-wide historic movements. With subtle intuition he reconstructs the early life of the race, the subjugating of the earth, the creating of the home, the growth of family feeling. Often he pauses in his stride to paint a poetic picture of an idyl in a forest, the birth of first love, or the tender union of mother and child. Through it all wanders the figure of Norna Gest, the mythical man who cannot die, the incarnation of the soul of the race.

HANNA ASTRUP LARSEN

Three Who Loved. By Edita Morris. Viking Press. 1945. Price \$2.00.

Mrs. Morris possesses an almost magic ability to give form and color to the fey-like qualities of her mind. The current volume, which is the first book of hers to appear since My Darling from the Lions, is an almost precipitous step from that comparatively earthy excursion. For, with the exception of "Kullan," the stories are of a much more ethereal texture.

In "The Melody" the subject has at once, I fear, been too overwhelmingly great, and too obvious. It is strange and rather sad, since so many sincere authors have tried to make the legend of the Christ child their own, that so few of them have succeeded. It is terribly difficult to make Him alive and believable, and the clearer the writer makes his eyes shine, and the more golden the hair curls around the temples of the little boy in white, the more unbelieving and embarrassed do many honest readers feel. Not that Mrs. Morris' description lacks in reverence, beauty, or understanding. It just seems to be a subject that can, almost should, be by-passed, even by the most ardent adherents of any faith. "The Melody" has many happy moods and turns. But it remains a story of a Story, and the echo is not always audible and never quite convincing.

convincing.
"Kullan," on the other hand, tells of a gusty and lusty peasant girl who blows life into a mummified Stockholm family. It is a fresh, breezy, tale. In "A Blade of Grass" Mrs. Morris, I think, has reached higher than in any-thing she has ever touched. The story is stark in its simplicity-blind, instinctive, yet happy devotion to duty. From the islands in the skerries the nameless, eager, courageous one seeks wider-and harder-fields of charity to till on the mainland. She finds them in a settlement house, where, for a fleeting, breath-taking moment she believes that personal, not universal, love might be hers. How she discovers that she is wrong, and how she rises magnificently above the ruins of what she un-wittingly has built up, forms a most honest and convincing piece of writing.

HOLGER LUNDBERGH

## Two New Foundation Books

These two volumes of Foundation Publications have recently been published:

# Scandinavian Plays

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